



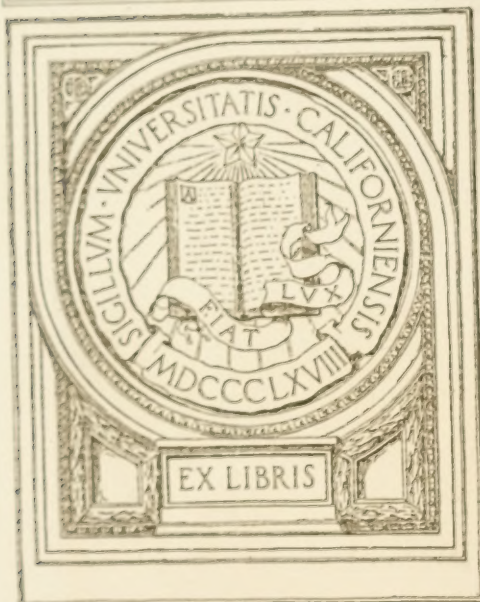
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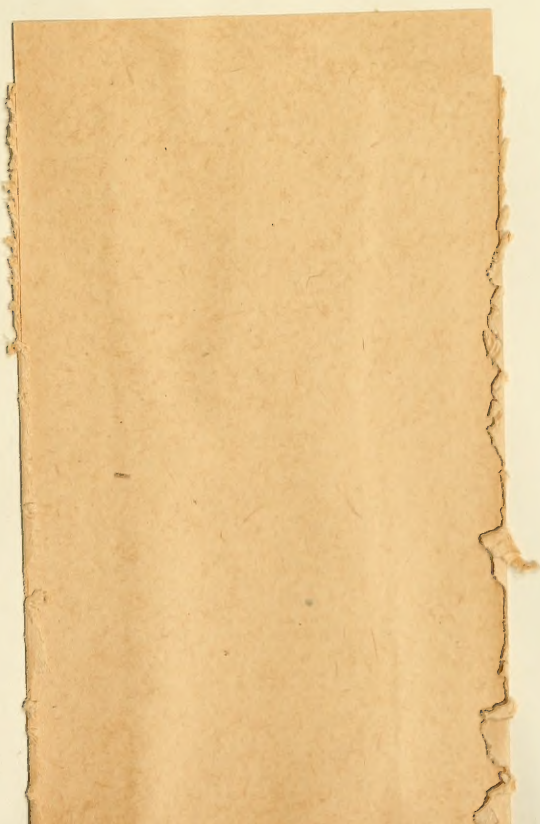
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THE GREAT MIGRATIONS

BY

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VOLUME VI

OF

A HISTORY OF ALL NATIONS



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BOOK I.

THE MIGRATIONS OF THE NATIONS AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES.

PART I.

PRIMEVAL TIMES AND THE HEROIC AGE OF GERMANY.

CHAPTER I.

THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

THE historian seeks his material from the most varied sources. For the earliest period of German history these sources may be classified into three groups—relics of antiquity, inscriptions, and narratives, legendary or historic. In the first group we class all the material evidences of human existence that early man has left behind him, such as remains of dwellings, roads, mounds and graves, sculptures, vases, ornaments, weapons, coins, and the like. Fragments of the most ancient settlements have been found in mountain-caves and on lake-bottoms; from primeval places of burial have been recovered the relics of the dead, with their weapons, utensils, and implements. The secrets of this remote past lay, for long ages, entombed under sepulchral mounds, embedded in peat-bogs, or in alluvial strata, till recent scientific research has brought them carefully forth, and has submitted them to the eye of intelligent investigation. Thus far, however, examinations have been confined to places more or less isolated, and often far apart. The results, therefore, though of undoubted value, do not furnish data for the determination of many interesting points involved in early history which require the consideration of all the material. Archaeology as applied to the study of early Germanic history is therefore yet only in its formative stage; it awaits the appearance of a master mind to grasp all its details and to combine them into a science.

The inscriptions are of German or Roman origin, and are engraved on stone, metal, bone, or wood. Some exhibit the old Runic characters, but these are few, and are interesting mainly to the specialist. The Graeco-Roman inscriptions are much more numerous, and illustrate subjects in private, public, and military life. They comprise epitaphs,

memorial-tablets, milestones, records of proclamations and the stations of the Roman legions, and the like. To this group, also, may be referred the inscriptions on coins. Coins have a two-fold import—first, by virtue of their legends and dates; next, by virtue of the places where they were found. From them we can draw important inferences in regard to the extent of the Roman Empire at various periods.

For explicit contemporary written records we are indebted to the Romans. The historic sense had not yet developed itself in the German mind, nor was the German speech yet a written language. Only in ballads and similar strains did the people celebrate their gods and heroes, and in the ages of strife and turmoil these lays unrecorded sank into oblivion. Almost the only literary relics of heathendom that time has spared us are the “Merseburg Sentences,” which are allied to the song of *Völuspá* in the old Norse Edda. One of these semi-metrical “sentences” treats of the Battle-maidens, and may be approximately rendered as follows:

Once sat the Idise,
Here and there sat they:
Some plaited bonds,
Some bound the host,
Some plucked twigs
For knee-bands.
Spring forth from the fetters!
Flee from the foe!

Infinitely fuller and clearer is the stream that flows to us from Roman sources. This civilized people came into contact with the barbaric German tribes in circumstances that led to a close observation of their manners and customs. To this fact we are indebted for glimpses into the prehistoric condition of the race at a stage of development earlier than in the case of any kindred people. Yet, it must be borne in mind that Roman writers concern themselves with German affairs only in so far as they affect the interests of the Empire—we see everything from the point of view of the Romans. Their records, therefore, are essentially of a politico-military character, and are neither complete nor symmetrical. At times ample and detailed, they are, at other times, fragmentary and meagre. Frequently they are rather allusive than explicit, while on many points they are entirely silent. We stand as if in the dusk of evening before a wide-extending ocean. The howling of the storm sounds in our ears—the tumultuous noise of the breakers, the cries of imperilled mariners. Only now and again a lightning-flash illumines the scene far and near, revealing for an instant the glare of the foam-crested billows and the angry surf dashing itself into a spray at our feet. In due time,

however, the politico-military treatment of German affairs passes out of literature, and what may be termed the clerico-ecclesiastical takes its place.

Among the highest essentially Roman authorities in this school we note Eusebius, St. Augustine, and Orosius, the very titles of whose writings evince the change that had now set in. Augustine's great work (*The City of God*) has been characterized as the echo of the misfortunes of his time and of the crush of all constituted authority under the tread of the German hosts. It is the last great landmark of the ancient culture of the West. With the work of Orosius (*Historiarum adversus Paganos Libri Septem*) closes the long series of Roman historical writings proper. Statecraft and historical literature now took refuge in the more vigorous East, and there bloomed, as if in a second summer, till they perished amid the frost and ice of a mediaeval winter.

The era of serious and genuinely literary narrative is now at an end. In its place we have the bald, barren chronicle, often little more than a catalogue of disconnected facts, its main value lying in its accuracy in regard to dates. The only scribes are cloistered churchmen whose language and ideas were alien to the uncultured people of whom they write. The interests of the State are entirely subordinate to those of the Church. The struggle between heathendom and Christianity is no longer the main theme, nor the unbridled passions and fierce contentions of multitudinous, warring tribes. Figures of bloodless ascetics come now to the foreground and take the place of the patriot heroes who struggled for their race and home. Historiography and real history are no longer in accord, because the recorder is not capable of appreciating the grand progress of events in the outside world. His eye, weary with contemplating the misery here below, is directed longingly upward. Even the appearance of German writers hardly attracts our notice, for their clerical training in Latin schools had loosened for them all the ties of country.

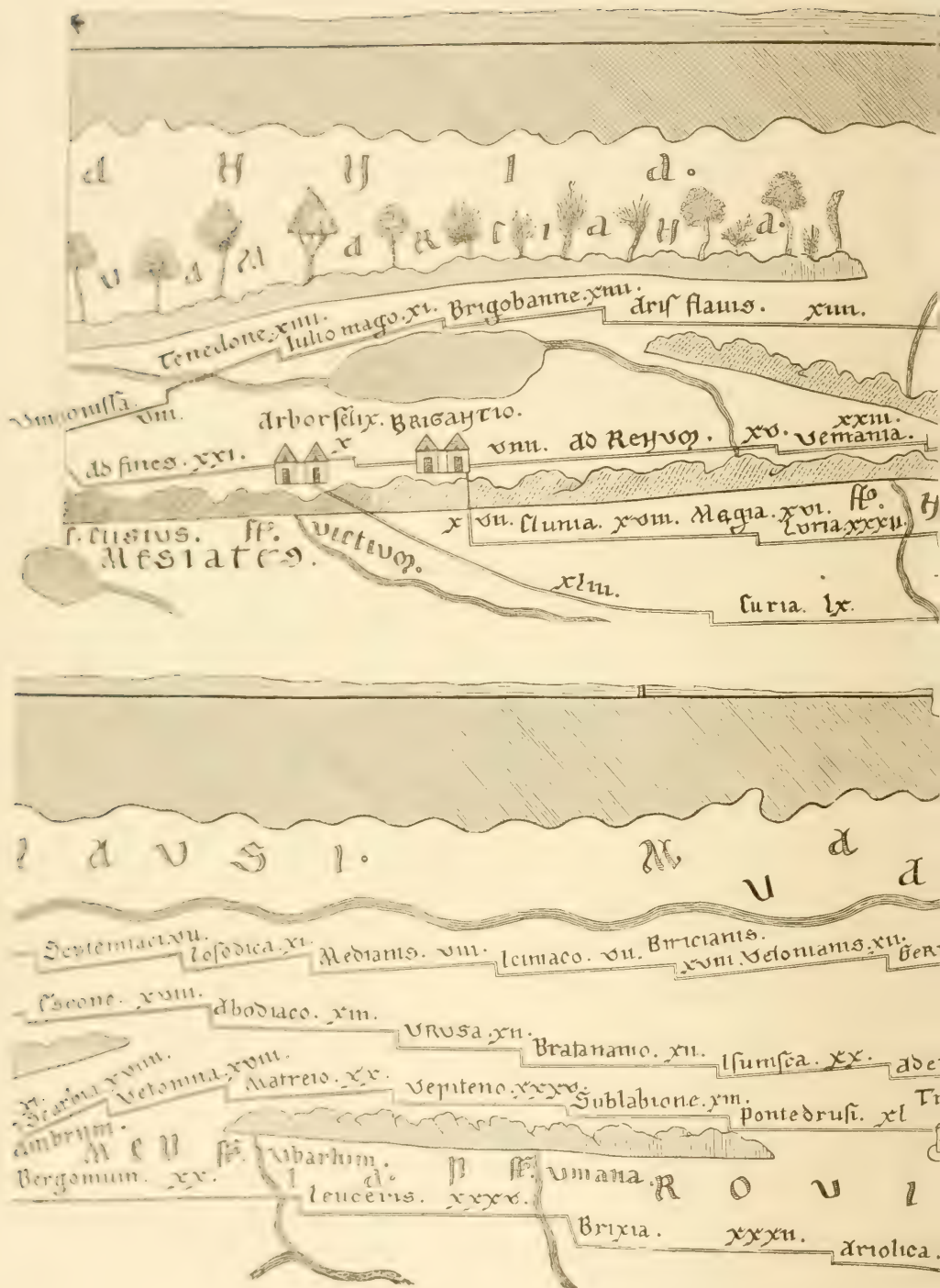
The mediaeval church with its renunciations of human interests was a barren nursery for the rich germs of Germanic national life, which it neither cherished nor understood. All the more have we reason to congratulate ourselves that the race had first come into view at a period when Rome had great and appreciative historians. The Cimbri and Teutones find mention in the writings of Rutilius Rufus, who was consul in B. C. 105. As a writer he is succeeded by Lutatius Catulus and Sulla, whose works afforded materials to later historians, especially for Plutarch. Unfortunately for us, however, these writings have been lost. A better fate awaited that masterpiece of the historian's art, Caesar's Commentaries. Far inferior, yet our only original authority for the wars of Augustus, is

the *Outline of Roman History* by Velleius Paterculus. The *Annals of Tacitus*, the foremost of Roman historians, continues the series of records. To this writer we are indebted for our first real view of German life and character. His contribution is all the more important that after him there followed a period still lying under the veil of obscurity, due in part to the lack of good historical writers, and in part to the fact that such records as were made have come down to us in sadly imperfect form.

In the beginning of the Third Century, Dio Cassius compiled his eighty books of Roman history, extending from the age of Aeneas to A. D. 229. Unfortunately part is lost. Although, as compared with Tacitus, this writer is credulous and superstitious and wanting in character and force, he is not undeserving of praise for care and minuteness in detail. Herodian—a rhetorical historian—leaves in his eight books of Roman history (A. D. 180–238) a brief but striking picture of his time. Still bolder—occasionally unreliable—is the *History of the Caesars*, a series of biographical sketches by six authors; it begins with Hadrian and ends with Carinus (A. D. 284). We have to lament the loss of the valuable works of the elder Pliny, of Aurelius Victor, and of Marius Maximus, of which all that remain to us are unsatisfactory excerpts and digests. For the important period of the restoration of the Empire under the Illyrian Caesars, for the times of Diocletian and Constantine, our information is extremely defective, and what we have is oftentimes obscured by party-spirit. Excepting the notices in Eusebius and St. Jerome, we have too often nothing to rely on for this period, save empty panegyrics, letters, compacts, speeches, inscriptions, and coins. Occasionally these are supplemented by writers of a later period. At the close of this series of authorities we meet once more with a man of the first importance in Ammianus Marcellinus, who dared—and was justified in daring—to compile a continuation of Tacitus, from A. D. 96 to his own times (A. D. 378). Unfortunately, the first thirteen books of his great work are lost.

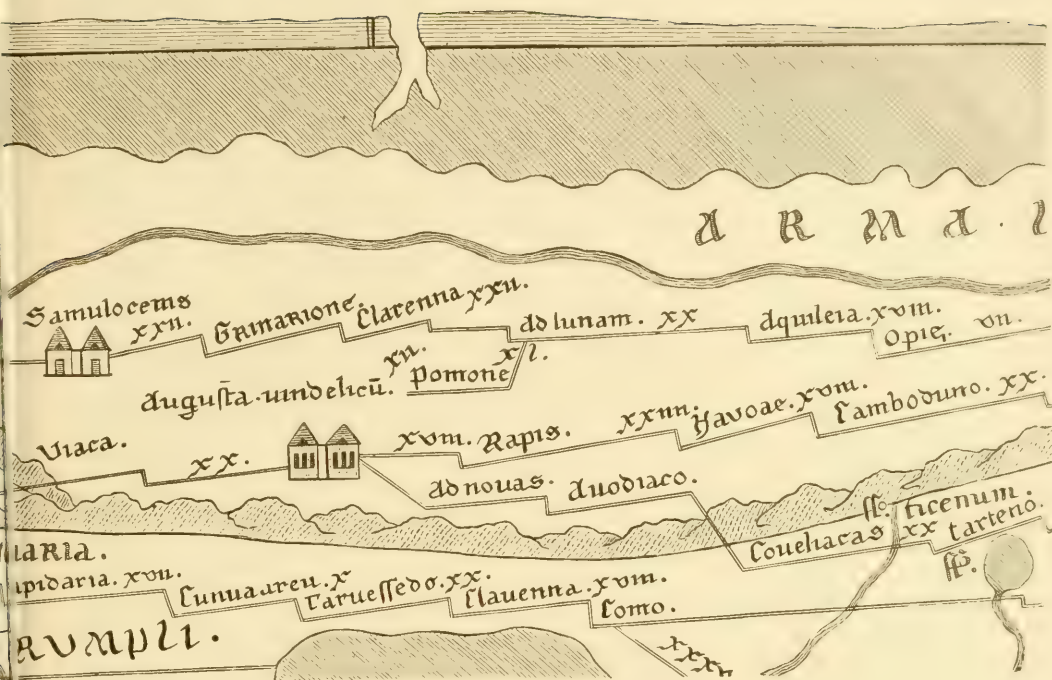
Thus we see that our best and most numerous sources of information are at the beginning and end of the series. The later as well as the earlier narratives are really military records—some direct, as those of Caesar, Velleius, and Ammianus; others indirect, as those of Tacitus and Plutarch. We have to do with men, therefore, who came themselves in contact with the Germans, and whose peculiar interest it was to inform themselves accurately concerning the matters of which they wrote.

To the authorities mentioned above we have to add a group of writers who furnish us with a different kind of information. These are the geographers. At their head stands Strabo, whose well-known work was



Facsimile of a part of the Tabula

The upper part of the third segment.



Reutingeriana, an ancient itinerary.

The bands are continuous, being joined at a.

compiled during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. Personally he was not acquainted with the German people. The same is the case with Claudius Ptolemy, the Alexandrine geographer and contemporary of Antoninus Pius, who in the Second Book of his Geography gives us a list of German tribes. For later periods we have valuable aids in the road-chart or itinerary, known, after the name of an early owner, as the Peutingerian Table (PLATE I.¹).

In regard to the industries and culture of the early Germans we derive valuable information from the Commentaries of Caesar and the Germania of Tacitus. The statements of the latter, however, are not to be taken unconditionally. They seem sometimes to be influenced by the purpose—laudable enough from one point of view—of holding up to his degenerate countrymen the picture of a people living in accord with nature

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE I.

Facsimile of a part of the Tabula Peutingeriana, an ancient itinerary: the upper part of the third segment. The bands are continuous, being joined at *a*.

In the upper left-hand corner *Silva Marciana* (the Black Forest): below—the shaded oval spot—Lake Constance: to the right, making a curve upward and then to the right, the river Danube as far as Passau: below, the Alps.

ROUTES.

1. Vindonissa (Windisch near Brugg) through Rottweil (Arae Flaviae) and Rottenburg (Sumalocena) to Regensburg or Ratisbon (Reginum) and Castellum Boiodurum (Innstadt near Passau—at *b* in the lower band). This route ran on the north bank of the Danube as far as Abusina (Tab., Arusena) or Eining, and not, as given in the Table, on the south bank.

2. Vindonissa—Arbor Felix (Arbon)—Brigantium (Bregenz)—Augusta Vindelicum (Augsburg)—Cambodum (Kempten)—I(u)vavum (Salzburg). (a) I(u)vavum (Salzburg)—Tarnanto (Neumarkt)—Tergolape (near Lambach), etc., by way of Ovilava (Wels) to Lentia (Linz). (b) I(u)vavum (Salzburg)—Cucullae (Kuchel): thence, over the Alps, to Virunum, near Klagenfurt.

3. Augusta Vindelicum (Augsburg)—Abudiacum ("Auodiaco") or Epsach—Parthanum ("Tarteno"), or Partenkirche—Veldidena ("Vetonina"), or Wilten, near Innsbruck—Matreium (Matrei)—Tridentum (Trent)—Verona.

4. Arbor Felix (Arbon)—Curia (Coire)—Lake Como, here not named.

5. Brigantium (Bregenz)—Curia, probably over the Septimer mountains—Clavenna (Chiavenna)—Comum (Como)—Bergomum (Bergamo)—Brixia (Brescia)—Verona, etc., through Vicentia to Opitergium (Oderzo).

The Peutingerian Table, now in the Imperial Library at Vienna, receives its name from Konrad Peutinger of Augsburg, to whom it was given by Konrad Celtes, who discovered it in 1507 at Worms. It is a copy made in 1265, by a monk at Colmar, of an ancient map which was prepared about 280 A. D. It is written on twelve long strips of parchment; has later additions, and was primarily intended for an itinerary. It embraces the whole world known to the Romans (*orbis terrarum*), except a small portion in the west, where the parchment has been lost. In the north and south direction the map is much contracted; in fact, the relation of height to breadth is as $21\frac{1}{4}$ to 1. The short breaks in the lines of the routes do not indicate irregularities in the roads, as has been supposed, but were made in part to give space for the insertion of the names of places, in part to indicate a change in the direction of the road.

The numbers designate distances, sometimes in Roman miles (*milia passuum*, 10 of which=2 geographical miles), sometimes in Gallic *leuyae* (10=3 geogr. miles).

and quoscripted by vice and luxurious civilization. Moreover, on some matters he seems to have been misinformed, and he occasionally attributes to the whole race what is peculiar to a tribe. Here and there he appears to sacrifice accuracy to epigrammatic terseness, and on more than one occasion he contradicts himself, as, for example, when he speaks of the Germans' manner of treating the aged. When he tells of their bathing only in warm water because winter prevails through most of the year, he is, probably, influenced by an Italian's view of the climate of Germany, or misled by partial information. Caesar and Herodian inform us that the Germans were wont to bathe only in rivers. Again, when he implies that the Germans despised grand sepulchral monuments because they saw in them only a burden for the dead, he overlooks the fact that they were in the habit of piling up mounds of earth and stones over their graves. The fact is, the Germans contemned sepulchral monuments only because they were unfamiliar with architecture and sculpture as arts. It remains yet to be determined whether the advance in agriculture, government, and law, described by him conforms to the facts, whether his statements relative thereto are borne out by archaeological discoveries. His brief, and sometimes meagre or obscure sketches have been occasionally filled out by later writers with conceptions implying a higher degree of culture than that of the period he describes. Such a procedure is liable to convey erroneous impressions. Tacitus wrote with the purpose of giving his fellow-citizens an ideal picture of German life; he did not compile a treatise for later investigators. Not the less he has left us a work unrivalled and unique in its class.

In conclusion, on taking a review of all the material at our disposal, it must be admitted that the historian of the earliest Germanic times is exceptionally favored.

CHAPTER II.

THE PRIMEVAL AGE.

IN the world's history the only persistent thing is change. Our planet, once a glowing mass, has cooled and formed a crust, which thickens from age to age. The waves of the ocean once rolled where we now see mountain chains, and the sea conceals what was once dry land. Glaciers and snow-fields once covered hills and vales that are to-day clad in verdure, and regions now frozen under ice and snow heard, in primeval time, the rustling of forest leaves. As with the earth's surface so is it with all that dwell on it. Hideous monsters of gigantic form once peopled districts that are now tilled by the busy hand of industry. Their bodies are petrified into stone, while their uncouth shapes have been preserved in tale and legend.

The highest creation, man himself, has experienced changes scarcely less startling. From the lowest stage of culture he strives ever upward. As the ancient poets dreamed of three ages, of which the last was the Iron Age, so does the history of civilization recognize three periods, of which the last is also characterized by the use of Iron. Anterior to the Iron Age were the ages of Bronze and Stone. Yet we are not to suppose that these periods correspond with any definite portions of time clearly marked off from each other. In point of fact, these so-called "periods" or "ages" are merely social conditions, and pass into and overlap each other. Stone implements are still used in the South Sea Islands and other savage lands, and even, to some extent, by the poorer classes in civilized countries; while fragments of iron have been found among the relics of the Stone Age.

Naturally the earliest stage is that in which metals were still unknown, and their place supplied by some other hard material. This stage, scientists tell us, reached back to the later ice period. Primeval man, scarce elevated above the brutes, roamed as a fisher and hunter, through gloomy forests and dismal morasses, and housed himself against the Arctic temperature in caves and dens, whence, by means of fire, he had driven forth their former tenants, gigantic wild beasts. There the "Lord of Creation," amid the bones of the animals he had slain, shaped for himself rude implements—lance-points, axe-heads, and uncouth

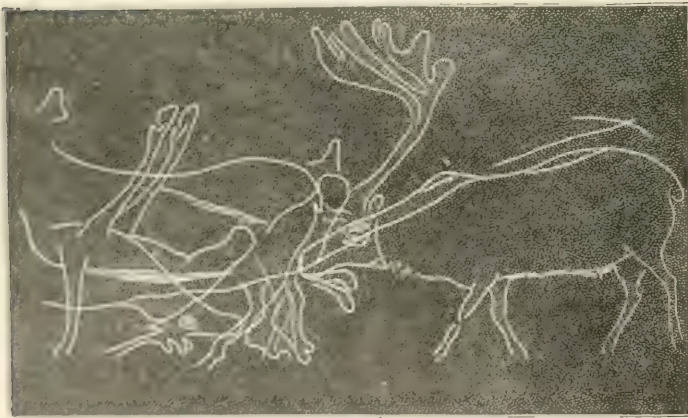
knives or scrapers—out of roughly-splintered, unpolished flint. This is the Palæolithic or Early Stone Age, in which cave-bears and reindeer were the typical animals of Middle Europe. Soon thereafter came instruments of bone, wood, and horn; and vessels of earthenware became



1.



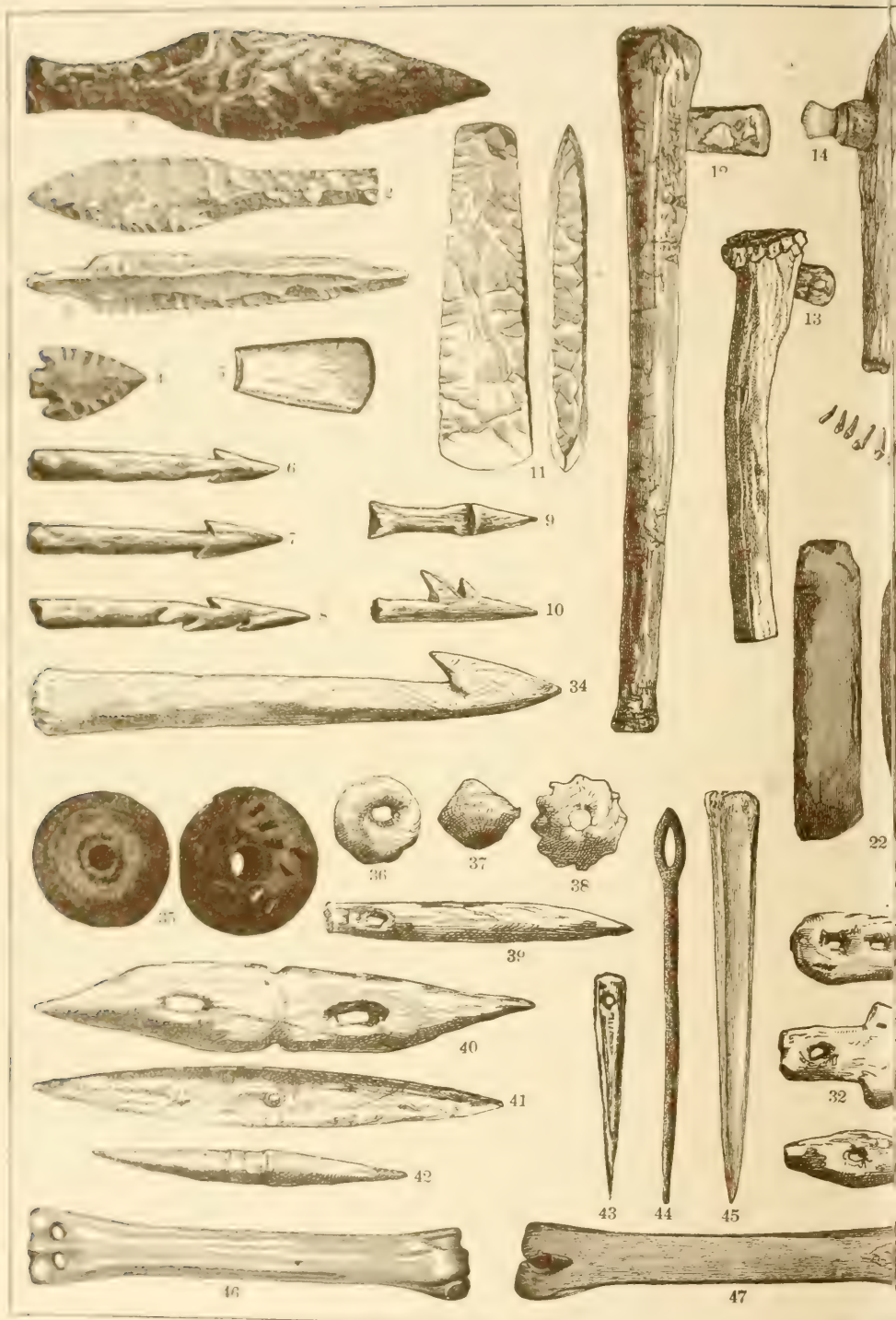
2.



3.

FIGS. 1, 2 and 3.—Primitive Man. Carved work. From a Cave at La Madelaine. 1. Mammoth with a long passage scratched upon a piece of a mammoth's tusk. 2. A fish, upon a cylindrical fragment of a reindeer's antlers. 3. Group of reindeer. (After Leakey.)

comparatively common. Numerous bone-needles show that some strong material was used for clothing, and simple efforts after decoration indicate some sort of acquaintance with plaiting and weaving (Figs. 1-3).



The Stone Age.—Weapons, ornaments



Domestic and agricultural implements.



The climate became milder, the cave-bear died out, the reindeer retired to the North and East, a richer fauna and flora began to spread over the new Earth, and man was able, by slow degrees, to turn himself to tillage and the rearing of cattle and flocks. He cultivated grain and flax. His tools were no longer of rough flint. They were polished and frequently perforated, so that they could be bound to a handle by a ligature. We have now arrived at the Neolithic or Later Stone Age. Improvements in social conditions set in in various forms. In the North, men still housed themselves in underground dwellings, but these

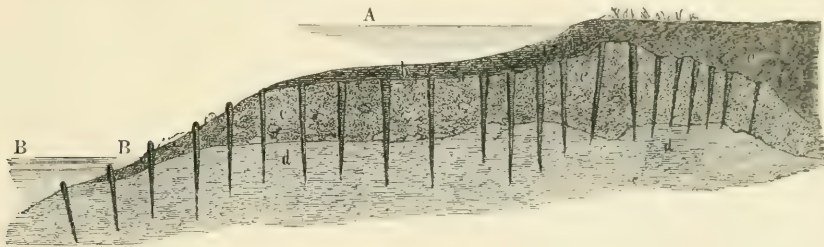


FIG. 4.—Remains of pile-dwellings on Lake Moosedorf, near Bern. A=former level of lake. BB=present level. bb=stratum of mud and roots of reeds. cc=stratum of spongy peat, containing stones, gravel, fragments of wood, coal, bones, etc. dd=ancient bed of the lake. e=hard peat. (Mitt. d. antiq. Gesellsch. z. Zürich, xiv.)

were in the open country or by the border of streams. They began to inter their dead under mounds; they manufactured axes, hatchets, hammers, chisels, saws, sickles, knives, daggers, arrows, spears, and harpoons, and these implements occasionally show considerable skill in wood-carving (PLATE II.¹). Great advance appears in the pottery-ware. Mound-

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE II.

From the Stone Age.—Weapons, ornaments, domestic and agricultural implements.

1. Spearhead: yellowish brown flint; length, $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. From the Island of Rügen.
2. Spearhead: black flint; length, $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. From Sweden.
3. Arrowhead: grey flint; length, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. From Skone, Sweden.
4. Arrowhead: light brown flint: $\frac{2}{3}$ original size. From Kloppenburg, in Oldenburg.
5. Wedge: diorite. From Nördlingen.
6. Spearhead: deer's antler. From a rock-house near Pottenstein in the Franconian Jura mountains.
- 7, 8, 9, 10. Arrow- and harpoon-heads: bone. From Pottenstein.
11. Double axehead: flint: rude work, trimmed only at the two edges. From the Island of Rügen.
12. Flint arrowhead, with wooden shaft. From near Altenwalde.
13. Flint arrowhead, with shaft of deer's antler. Ibid.
14. Stone wedge or axehead, mounted with wood and with deer's antler.
15. Stone wedge, mounted in deer's antler: width, $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. From the pile-dwellings at Robenhausen on Lake Pfäffik, Switzerland.
16. Hammer of horn-stone. From Kaufbeuern.

like heaps (known as "kitchen-middens") on the sites of old settlements, give evidence that the people fed on the products of the sea and on mammals. They appear to have engaged extensively in the rearing of domestic animals. We find remains of horses, oxen, sheep, hogs, and dogs. This comparatively high state of culture must have been of long duration in Scandinavia and North Germany.

The discoveries in the Alpine countries show a still wider distribution of this stage of civilization, particularly the discovery of the earliest pile-dwellings (*Pfahlbauten*) in Switzerland, South Germany, Austria, and Italy (Figs. 4, 5). The inhabitants of these regions lived in settlements or villages on the lakes or morasses, in dwellings erected on platforms supported by upright oak-piles driven deep into the bottom, the morass-villages being known as Terramare. Sometimes the villages were built on natural or artificial islands or peninsulas. Such settlements are known

17. Stone double axehead. From Buxtehude.
 18. Stone double axehead. From Criritz.
 19. Necklace: teeth of animals perforated: length, $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. Found with the skeleton of a woman, in the graves of Langen-Eichstätt.
 20. Perforated boar's tusk. From Oberingelheim.
 21. Saw, or sword: teeth of flint, mounted in deer's bone. From Aschaffenburg.
 22. Wedge of hornblende schist. From Mayence.
 23. Wedge of serpentine schist. From Heilbronn.
 24. Mattock of black Taunus schist: $\frac{1}{2}$ original size. From Mayence.
 25. Axehead of polished greenstone. From Damme, in Oldenburg.
 26. Wooden axe-handle: length, $15\frac{1}{10}$ in. From Reichenhall.
 27. Axehead of bone of deer: length, $14\frac{1}{10}$ in. From the river Ihme, near Hanover.
 28. Ploughshares, or wedges: (a) greenstone schist; length, $17\frac{1}{2}$ in.; (b) Taunus schist: length, $17\frac{1}{2}$ in. From Gabsheim, in Rhine Hesse.
 29. Simple hand-mill for grain: sandstone. From the graves at Monsheim.
 30. Knife for cutting leather: bone. From a rock-dwelling at Pottenstein in the Franconian Jura mountains.
 31. Bone perforated in three places, for drawing thread. Ibid.
 32. Weaver's shuttle, shaped like an arrowhead: bone. Ibid.
 33. Small weaver's shuttle: bone. Ibid.
 34. Bone crochet needle. Ibid.
 35. Spindle sockets: clay. From Dresden, and Frankfort-on-the-Oder.
 36. Whirls of deer bone. From the rock-dwellings near Pottenstein in the Franconian Jura mountains.
 - 37, 38. Clay whirls. Ibid.
 39. Bone needle. Ibid.
 - 40, 41. Bone shuttles. Ibid.
 42. Round shuttle: bone. Ibid.
 43. Bone sewing needle. Ibid.
 44. Horn sewing needle: original size. From near Schlieben.
 45. Piercing instrument: bone. From the rock-caves near Inzighofen, in Sigmaringen.
 - 46, 47. Skate (top and bottom): made of a bone of a horse. From a grave-mound at Oosterend in Frisia.
- Nos. 5-10, 12, 14, 21, 30-34, and 36-43 are taken from Ranke; Nos. 11, 16-18, 45-47 from Lindenschmit.

in Ireland as Crannoges, and figure in history down to the Seventeenth Century. At times the villages were on natural or artificial mounds, or on the level ground, and in that case consisted of structures of stone and wood. The people tilled the ground, reared cattle, hunted, and fished with net and hook. They made bread from wheat, barley, and millet; ate fruit and plants; and clothed themselves in skins or in cloth made from flax and bast. They were a settled people, who engaged in traffic with the inhabitants of other lands, fabricated implements in

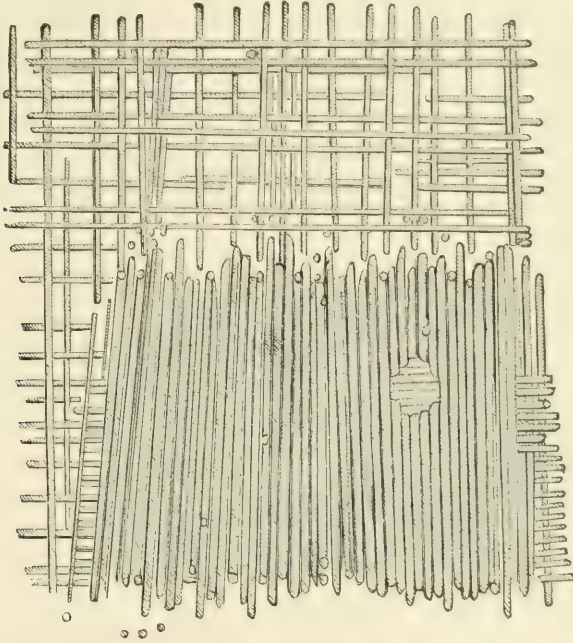


FIG. 5.—Framework of piles, at Nieder-Wyl, near Frauenfeld, Switzerland. (Mitt. d. antiq. Gesellsch. z. Zürich, xii.)

workshops, and had some idea of mechanical handcraft. The skulls that have been recovered go to prove that they, as well as their Northern kinsmen, were of the Indo-European race.

Between one thousand and two thousand years B. C., bronze (a mixture of copper and tin) began to take the place of stone. The use of bronze or copper, which ushers in the Age of Bronze, seems to have first developed in the countries bordering upon the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, and to have spread thence gradually westward. The seats of the most ancient of all civilizations are the Nile Valley and Mesopotamia, among the Egyptians and Babylonians; but in these regions civilization was developed in a strictly conventional fashion and

had no tendency to spread to other lands. Very different was it with the Phœnicians, among whom the varied life of their great cities and a wide commerce developed a freer and richer civilization. Toward



FIG. 6.—Vases with Human Faces. 1, 2. From the earliest strata at Troy: No. 2, in the fourth, and No. 1 in the fifth of the prehistoric settlements. (Schliemann.) 3. Found at Eulischau, in Neustadt, Pomerania. (Undset.)

the end of the Seventeenth Century B. C., Tyre stood forth as the capital commercial city of the Mediterranean, and, when she began to decline, her

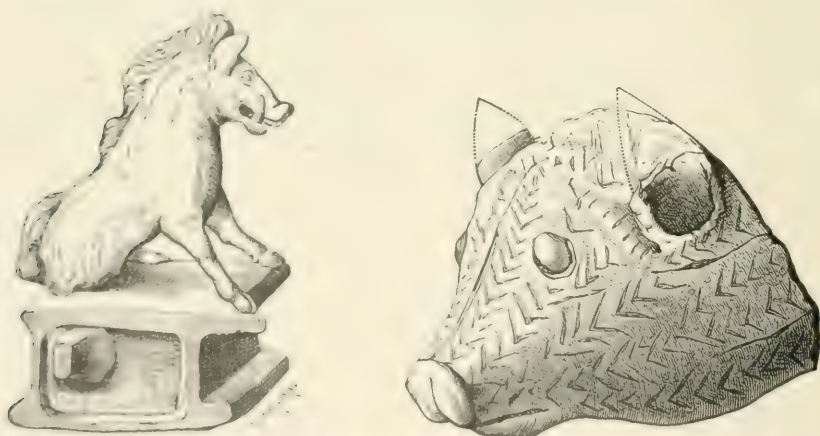


FIG. 7.—*See outline*: a small Celtic bronze object found at Cosa. (Rev. archéol., 1858.) 2. Top of a dark brown vase, in the form of a boar's head: the scratchings represent bristles; the eyes are of stone, inlaid. About $\frac{1}{2}$ original size. From Troy, second city. (After Schliemann.)

sister Phœnician city, Carthage, stepped forward to take her place. Very early this city entered into intimate commercial relations not only with

THE ROMANS AND THE GERMANIC TRIBES At the Time of Trajan.

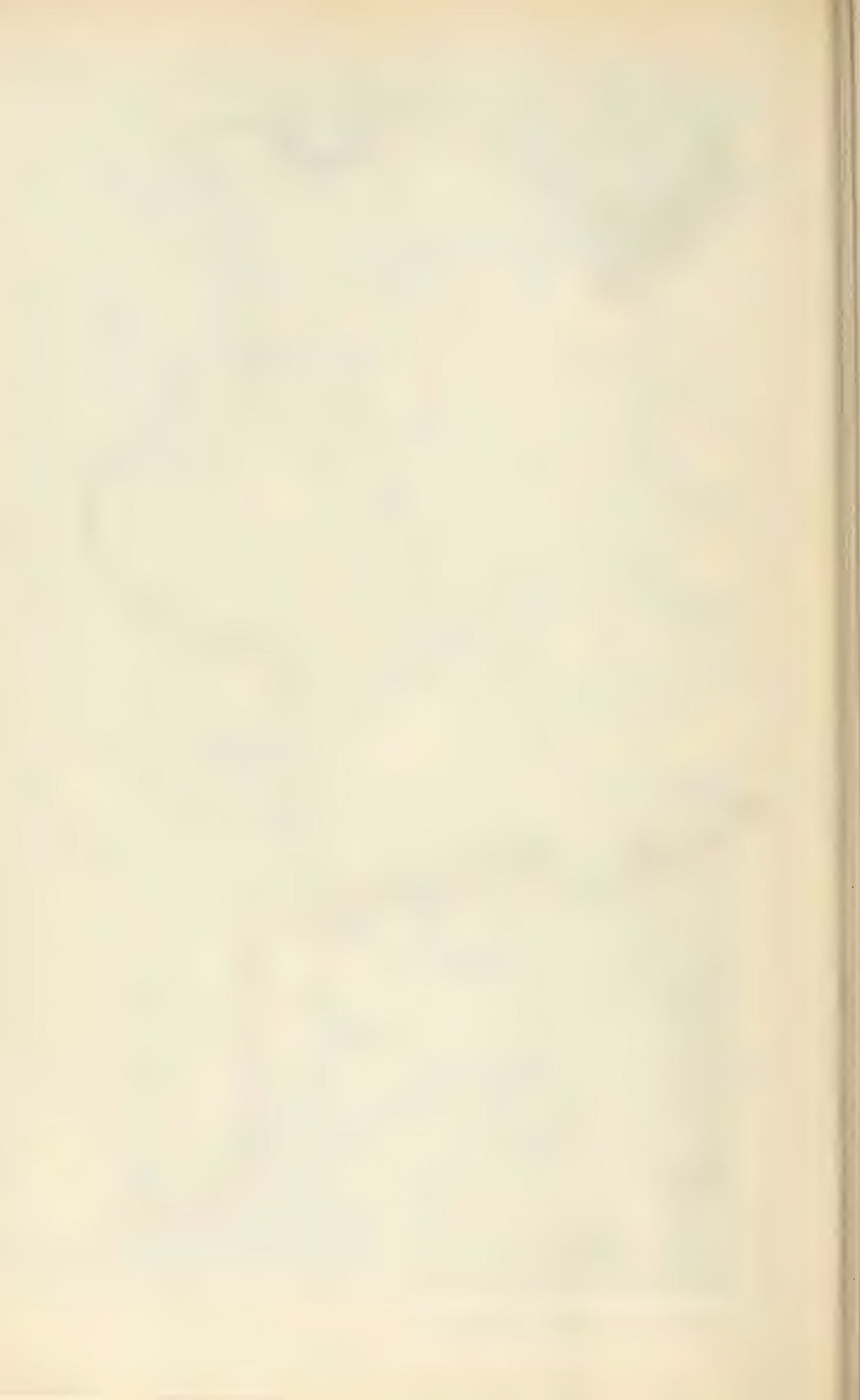
— Fortified Frontier — Roman Military Roads
English Miles



Map.—The Romans and the Germanic Tribes at the Time of Trajan.



Germanic tribes at the time of Trajan.



the Greeks, but also with the Etrurians and other tribes in Italy. Toward the end of the Sixth Century B. C., Carthaginian intercourse with Etruria began to wane, and Greece entered on its career of commercial supremacy.

It was inevitable that a highly-cultured people like the Phœnicians should exercise a powerful influence on the art-products of the less-developed populations with whom they came in contact (PLATE III.¹).



FIG. 8.—1. One side of a stone mould for casting various ornaments, from Mycenæ. Original size. (Schliemann.) 2. Section of a belt, made up of six sections: the plates are of sheet-iron overlaid with ornamented sheet-bronze; the rings are of cast bronze. From a grave at Tungendorf, near Neuminster. (After Undset.)

In the case of the Greeks and Italians, however, they met with peoples of alien race, highly endowed by nature, who had hitherto supplied all their needs from their own resources and in their own way. Besides foreign influence, therefore, another element is to be taken into account—

¹ Though our map represents the German tribes at the time of Trajan (A. D. 98-117), it will be convenient to insert it at this point.—ED.

viz., native temperament. Under these two influences, therefore, the earliest art and art-industries of the Greeks and Etruscans took their origin. Their articles of every-day use—their axes, hammers, swords, needles, pottery, and the like—continued to be fashioned after the native type; on the other hand, articles intended for ornament show a strong Oriental or Semitic type. Art and industry are inseparable, and the

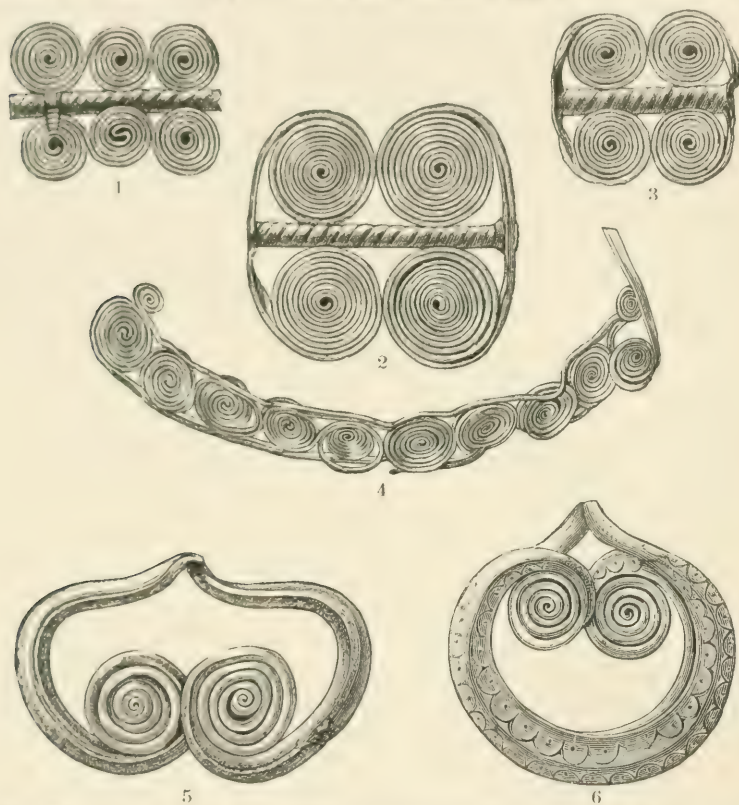


FIG. 9.—Ornaments in spiral forms. Golden objects from Mycenae. 1, 2, 3. Probably parts of necklaces: the spirals are attached on opposite sides of a small tube. 4. Bracelet, in twelve spirals, of spun gold. 5, 6. Ornaments of solid gold, perhaps used in the hair. About $\frac{1}{2}$ the original size. From the third grave. (Schliemann.)

influence of the former upon the latter made itself duly felt among the early Greeks.

The discoveries at Troy (Hissarlik), which disclose conditions as ancient as 1500 B. C., illustrate the rise of the Age of Bronze from that of Stone. The vases from Hissarlik in the form of human faces (Fig. 6; see also Fig. 11) resemble similar articles from the mouth of the Vistula and from Denmark; pottery there in the form of wild boars is not unlike

objects of Celtic origin (Fig. 7); there is everywhere evidence of commercial intercourse. The Age of Bronze must have prevailed in Asia Minor, while in northern countries that of Stone still continued.

The acropolis of Mycenae has laid open before us a most interesting series of objects that indicate several stages of development: articles of bronze are found side by side with those of gold and of copper, those of stone—occasionally—with those of iron (Figs. 8–10). Here is evidently an extraordinary blending of the old and the new, of the ancient Age of Stone with the new Age of Bronze, alike local and oriental. Lions, sphinxes, forms of vegetation used in decoration, death-masks, etc., indicate advanced oriental influences, while the prevalent type of ornament, the spiral, is peculiar to the Age of Bronze. On the other hand, numerous spear-heads, as well as the massive stone walls of the acropolis, carry us back to a more primitive past.

Evidences of this complex civilization are not limited to the shores of the Saronic gulf: they are found throughout the whole extent of eastern Greece, from Thessaly to Laconia. Here the Phoenicians had made permanent settlements, which have left traces of themselves in local names and in myths. The civilization seems to be more advanced than that of the Homeric poems.

In due time the Dorians and kindred Greek tribes migrated from the North, from the regions about Olympus, and expelled the Phoenicians. They amalgamated with the other inhabitants who were of cognate race and culture, and absorbed in themselves the remaining fragments of the oriental settlers. Under such conditions the native artistic instinct of the Greeks was touched to larger issues, and its stimulating influence was felt in all directions.

Among the most ancient of the objects discovered are those from the necropolis of Corneto, in Italy, which are earlier than the Sixth Century B. C. The graves of Bologna are of the Eighth Century B. C. and of a later date (earlier than 400 B. C.), when the Etruscans were overcome by the Celtic Boii, remains of whom have been found in these graves. In the remoter regions of Italy, bronze was in use as late as the reign of Augustus; Strabo tells us that the Ligurians used bronze spear-heads in his day.

In what measure we are to explain similar phenomena in Greek and Italian lands as due to commerce, or to ancient inheritance from a common origin, or to the proximity of related tribes (as in the Greek colonies in Southern Italy), is still a matter of much uncertainty. There was a commercial land-route around the upper end of the Adriatic gulf, though most of the traffic between Greece and Italy was carried on by sea. The

direct influence of eastern Greece upon Italy was not very marked, and seems hardly to appear much before the Eighth Century B. C. There is, for example, no evidence in Italy of the Mycenaean stage of civilization.¹ The influence of the Phoenicians upon Italian culture is more ancient, and much more evident, especially upon that of the Etruscans, who came into intimate commercial relations not only with the Phoenicians,



FIG. 10.—1, 2. Large gold disks or buttons from Mycenae; about $\frac{2}{3}$ the original size. (From Schliemann.) 3. Clasp, found at Gallerhöi near Maribo, in Denmark; about $\frac{1}{3}$ the original size. (After Undset.)

but also subsequently with the Carthaginians and the Greek settlers in southern Italy and Sicily. Interesting evidences of the presence of these Greek colonists are found in the cemeteries of Cyne and of Syracuse.

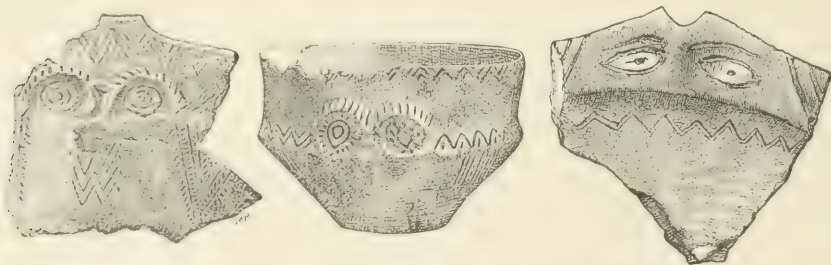


FIG. 11.—1. Fragment of a vase of earthenware, ornamented with picture of the human face; about $\frac{1}{3}$ original size. From a grave-chamber on the island Möen. 2. Fragment of a vase from a tomb at Arby, near Kalundborg; about $\frac{1}{3}$ original size. (Nos. 1 and 2 from Undset.) 3. Fragment of a vase (flat cup) of glazed black, with incised ornaments, partly overlaid with white clay. From the first settlement at Troy; about $\frac{1}{3}$ original size. (From Schliemann.)

Italy was the first foreign land to feel this influence. The earliest evidences of native culture we have in this country are the remains of pile-dwellings, of which a great number have been discovered on the great plain of the Po. The relics found here bear a considerable re-

¹ In Sicily, however, there are many traces of the Mycenaean civilization.—Ed.

semblance to those unearthed at Troy, and like them are of the Later Stone Age, or of cast bronze of the earliest Bronze Age. Similar articles (circular bronze ornaments) have been found in the lower stratum from Olympia in western Peloponnesus. The finds made in the district of Bologna give evidence of essential progress. There are found vases, and burial places containing articles of bronze and even of iron, showing close relationship with corresponding Greek objects. Elsewhere in Italy, as at Clusium, Volaterrae, the Alban Hills, Tessolo, Calatia, similar discoveries have been made.

The civilization of the Southern races did not confine itself to its new homes. Its products passed the Alps, and, by virtue of their superiority in material and technique, spread themselves over all Central and Northern

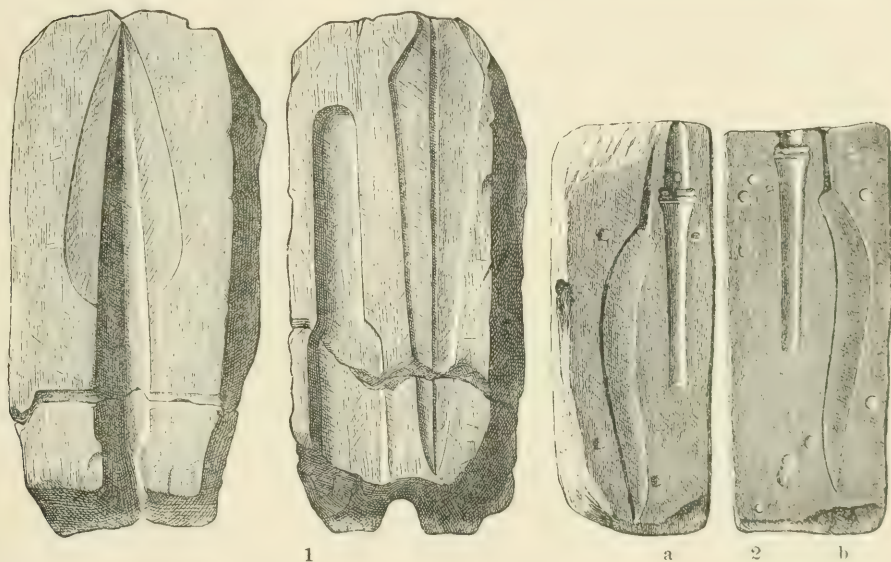


FIG. 12.—1. Two moulds, on a single stone, for casting spear-heads; found in 1857, at St. Margarethenberg, near Burghausen. (From the original in the Bavarian National Museum at Munich.) Length, about $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. 2. Two pieces of stone with moulds for a knife and for a chisel; $\frac{1}{2}$ original size. Found near Bukow, on Lake Schermützel, Brandenburg. (After Lindenschmit.)

Europe, even as far as Norway and Ireland, and are found in great numbers in the valley of the Upper Danube and of the Rhine. At first, the stream of civilization seems to have flowed from the Southeast. In Europe, as at Troy and Olympia, it is exclusively bronze that supplants stone, while the correspondence in type of the objects found in these widely-distant localities tells of a community of origin. This is especially obvious in the smaller articles of ornament and such things as

were specially adapted for traffic. The same great brooches and heavy necklaces bedecked the women of Elis and Upper Austria.

By slow degrees the Northern races learned to manufacture bronze articles for themselves, as is evidenced by the discovery of ancient casting-moulds (Fig. 12) and of unfinished articles. But as the necessary metals were to be found in but a few districts, it is obvious that recourse must have been had to importation. The tin in the bronze objects of the Swiss lakes is so pure that we are led to conclude that it came from Cornwall or from the west of France; while the Mecklenburg bronzes are as free from lead and as rich in silver as is the copper of the Ural. Man's inventive faculty was yet in its infancy, and lacked fertility and freedom. He held fast, therefore, to the types he had received, modifying them only slightly or not at all. Change came later and very gradually. In the most primitive times almost the only motives for decoration in use were the spiral and fine so-called wolf-tooth ornament. In time came geometric figures, zigzag lines, circles, embossed objects, and the like, the spiral passing away. Representations of plants and animals do not strictly belong to the bronze period. Everywhere we find essential similarity, with variety in detail, as well as in the nature and form of the objects as in their manufacture and embellishments.

While the spiral ornament was most affected in Denmark and Mecklenburg, farther south the ring form was preferred. The Danish swords show, generally, solid, richly-decorated hilts, whereas the British hilts end in a plate to which pieces of wood or bone are rivetted. The British spear-points were perforated on the shaft side, which is never the case with the Danish. The productions of North Italy are distinguished by their great variety in form and ornamentation. Articles enriched with embossments of beaten sheet-bronze are particularly frequent. While Ireland is particularly rich in the so-called celts (a sort of axe-head), in Denmark they are very rare, and in Britain entirely wanting. In the neighborhood of Zurich, needles, sickles, fishing-hooks, knives, lance-points, and celts, have been found in large quantities; while swords, fibulae, ornamental plates, and spiral rings are either entirely absent or of very rare occurrence. It appears that, in certain localities, these were manufactured in large quantities, as at Zurich, whose finds yield large numbers of objects of the same kind, alike in form and ornamentation, quite easily to be distinguished from Hungarian, or even from North Italian, productions of the same sort. Such manufactured articles were exported, and this explains why we occasionally come upon closely corresponding "finds" in localities far apart.

In these circumstances we need not be surprised to find that certain

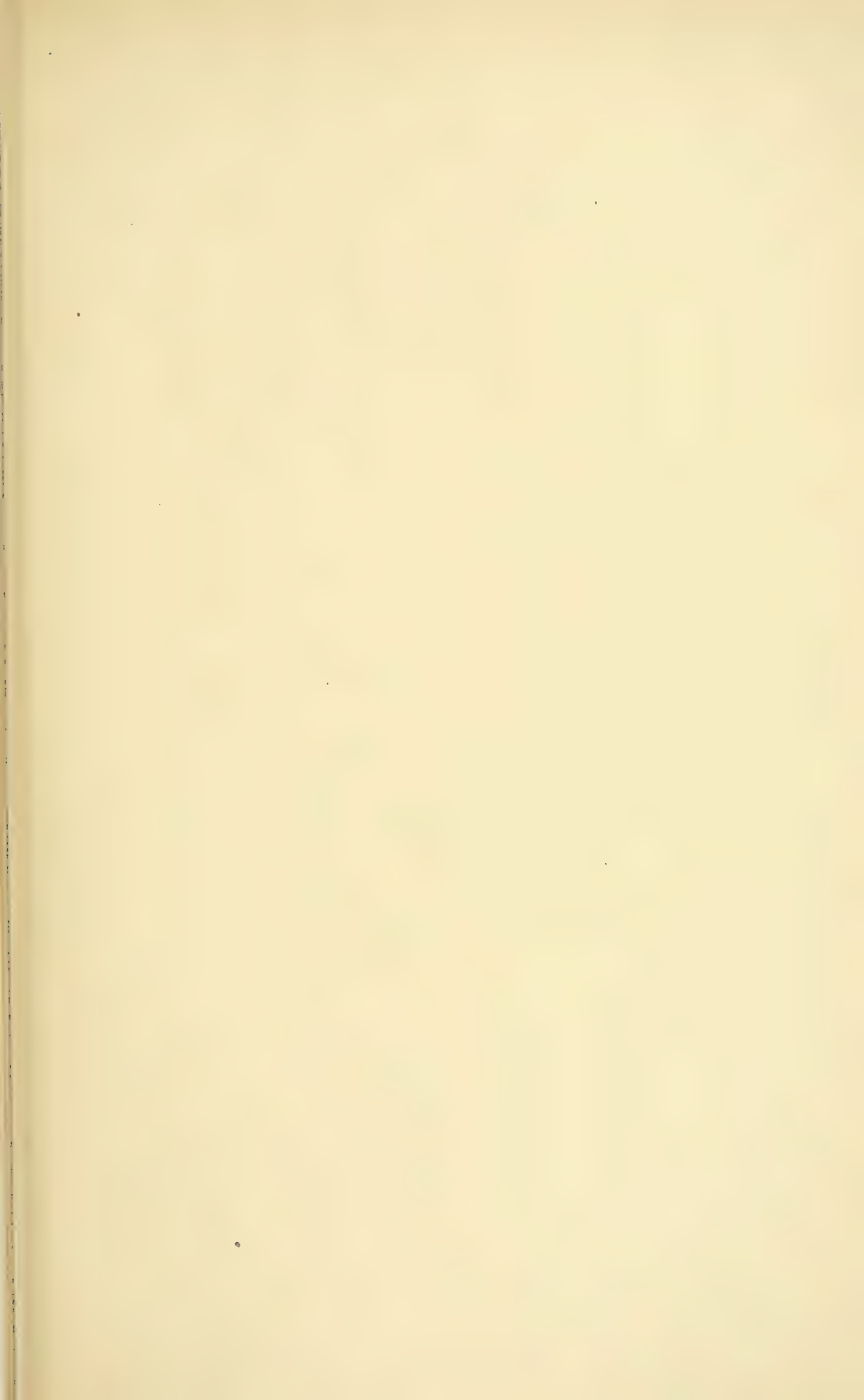
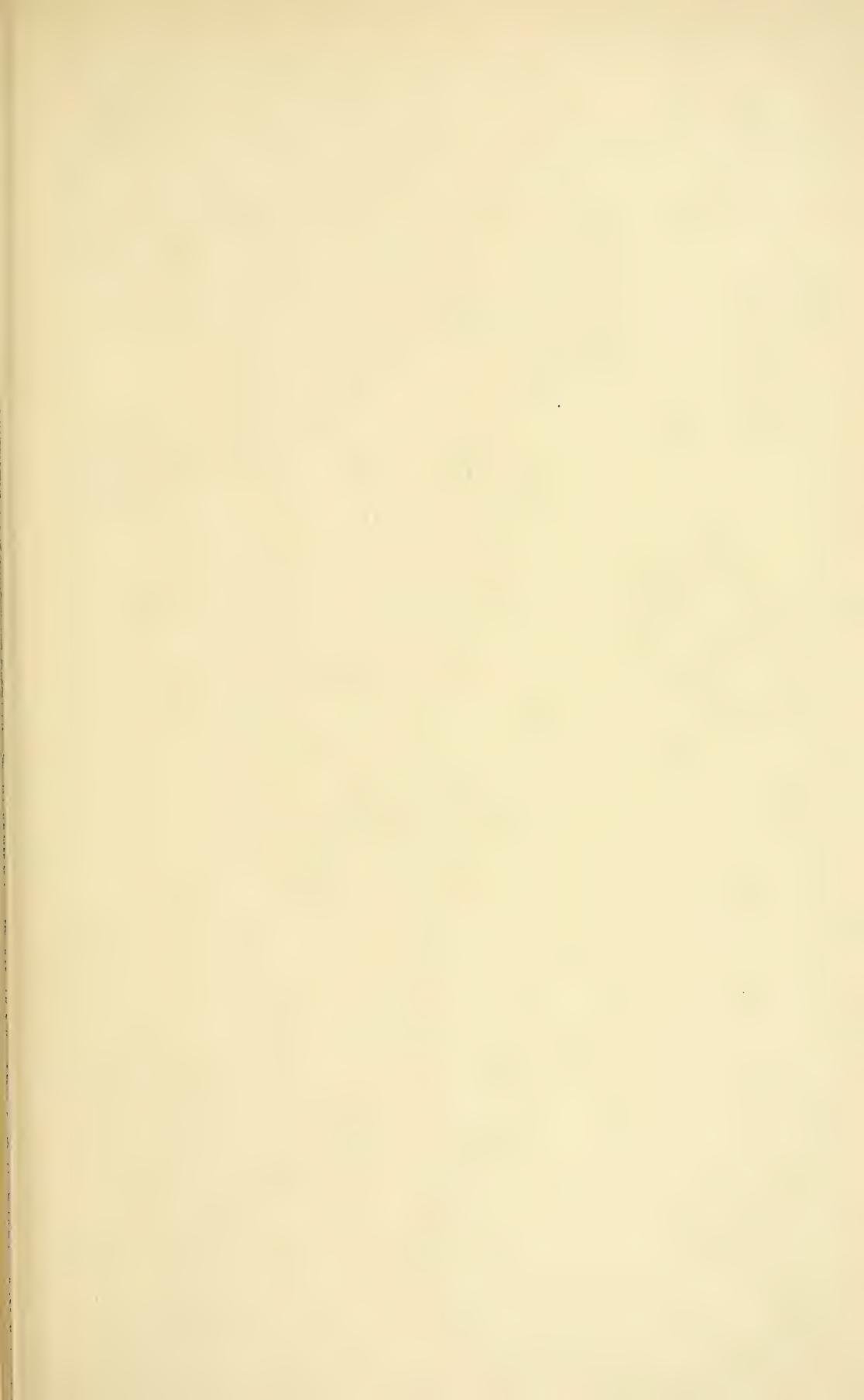


PLATE IV.



Age of Bronze.—Axe-heads and other instruments.





Age of Bronze.—Ornaments.

districts seem to have been centres of a highly-developed bronze culture—as Hungary, France, Ireland, Scandinavia, and Mecklenburg. The Swiss, South- and Middle-German “finds” yield in importance to those of North Germany. Especially rich are the littoral districts of this latter region, and from them the use of bronze seems to have spread itself northward to Scandinavia. This is rendered probable by the fact that the peculiar characteristics of North-German culture show themselves in the Northern objects. The Age of Bronze in Scandinavia is, therefore, younger than that in Middle Europe.

The North-European bronzes fall into two groups. The older and more highly-developed specimens were produced west of the Vistula; the later are found to the east. Sometimes we come upon objects belonging to one group in the territory of the other, especially in the coast districts. Mecklenburg, for example, with its rich “finds” occupies an intermediate place. Here we find objects belonging to both groups. In Switzerland, too, we have two groups with sharply-defined characteristics—one proper to the lake-dwellings, the other to the settlements on the mainland. Here, articles seem to have been imported not only from the adjacent countries, but from Middle and South Europe. The old bronze fibulae, for example, suggest a Hungarian origin.

The duration of the Age of Bronze varied much in different lands (PLATES IV.—VII.¹). It came to an end first in the South, as a grad-

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE IV.

Age of Bronze.—Axe-heads and other instruments.

1. Bronze wedge or axe-head.
2. Bronze hatchet-head: length, 5 in. From Hungary.
3. Bronze hatchet-head: length, $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. From Salzwedel.
4. Bronze hatchet-head: length, $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. From Monheim, Bavaria.
5. Bronze hammer: length of handle, $17\frac{3}{8}$ in.; length of hammer, $11\frac{1}{2}$ in.
6. Bronze knife: length, $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. Found in Italy. In the Louvre.
7. Bronze knife. From Brandenburg.
8. Bronze instrument, perhaps for cutting leather: greatest length, $15\frac{7}{10}$ in.
9. Bronze sickle, inscribed with the Roman figures *xiii*: diameter, $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. From the cave near the monastery at Beuron.
10. Bronze chisel: length, 15 in. From a burial urn found on the Feuerberg near Friedolsheim in Rhenish Bavaria.
11. Bronze chisel: length, $6\frac{1}{10}$ in. From the Ulrichs cave at Hardt, Württemberg.
12. Bronze celt. From a grave-mound near Barnsen, in Oldenstädt. Hanover. (After Lindenschmit.)
13. Bronze chisel (celt): length, $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. From Geissen.
14. Bronze celt or wedge: length, $4\frac{7}{10}$ in. From the “Geest quarry” at Haselünne.
15. Bronze celt. From Italy. (After Lindenschmit.)

EXPLANATION OF PLATE V.

The Age of Bronze.—Ornaments.

1. Bronze diadem: $\frac{2}{3}$ original size. From a grave at Altsummit near Cracow in Mecklenburg. Schwerin, Museum.

ually encroaching, harder rival appeared in the form of iron. From the South the innovation extends to Middle Europe, and thence with slow

2. Ring of solid bronze: $\frac{1}{2}$ original size. Peculiarly curved inward. From Lindentrath Hesse. Darmstadt, Museum.

3. Ring of cast bronze, chased: hollow, the ends brought together into a sphere ornamented with incised work, meander and zigzag patterns. Greatest inside diameter, $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. From Mecklenburg. Schwerin, Museum. (Lindenschmidt.)

4. Bronze arm-ring.

5. Bronze arm-pin, in form of two shields connected: $\frac{2}{3}$ original size. Largest known specimen. From Baselow, Mecklenburg.

6. Bronze arm-ring.

7. Bronze finger-ring: original size. From the graves at Oberhofm., Mayence, Museum.

8. Arm-ring of drawn bronze: found on a bone of the arm.

9. Small ornament of twisted drawn bronze, probably for the hair. Found on St. Peter's mountain near Halle.

10. Cloak-pin, with spiral twists. From near Pattense in the Lüneburg district.

11. Cloak-pin: pin about $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. long. From Schweidnitz, Silesia.

12. Spiral of bronze: probably ornament for the hair.

13. Fragment of a chain used as a belt: $\frac{1}{2}$ original size. The several links consist of wires of strong spun bronze, which are grouped in threes and made to terminate in a spiral twist: each group is connected with the next by three bronze rings. From an Etruscan tomb. Carlsruhe, Museum.

14. Bronze hairpin: $\frac{1}{2}$ original size. From Silesia.

15. Bronze hairpin, with concave mirror instead of head: $\frac{1}{2}$ original size. From Tolke-witz, near Dresden.

16. Bronze baton, for commanding-officers. From near Mausfeld.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE VI.

Age of Bronze.—Weapons.

1. Rear view of a cuirass: sheet-bronze, with repoussée ornament. Found at Grenoble.

2, 3. Front and back of a bronze shield: edge strengthened by a band of hoop-iron: diameter, $15\frac{1}{2}$ in. Found at Bingen.

4. Bronze cap or helmet. Found at Kreuznach. Mayence.

5, 6. Helmet, front and rear view: it consists of two plates of thick bronze rivetted together. Found in the Rhine, near the mouth of the Main. Mayence.

7. Bronze helmet: height, 7 in. Found near Pfordten, Niederlausitz.

8. Bronze helmet, richly ornamented, and provided with attachments for holding the triple crest. Found near Naples. Carlsruhe.

9. Bronze helmet, from behind: with horns and attachments for the crest, rivetted on. Found at Canosa. Carlsruhe.

10. Helmet of sheet-bronze, with protections for the ears, side view. Found near Salzburg.

11. Bronze helmet. Found at Selsdorf, near Dohbertin, Mecklenburg. Schwerin Museum.

12. Bronze sword of the earliest period. Augsburg, Museum.

13. Bronze sword: length, $26\frac{1}{2}$ in. Found in the Danube, near Ratisbon.

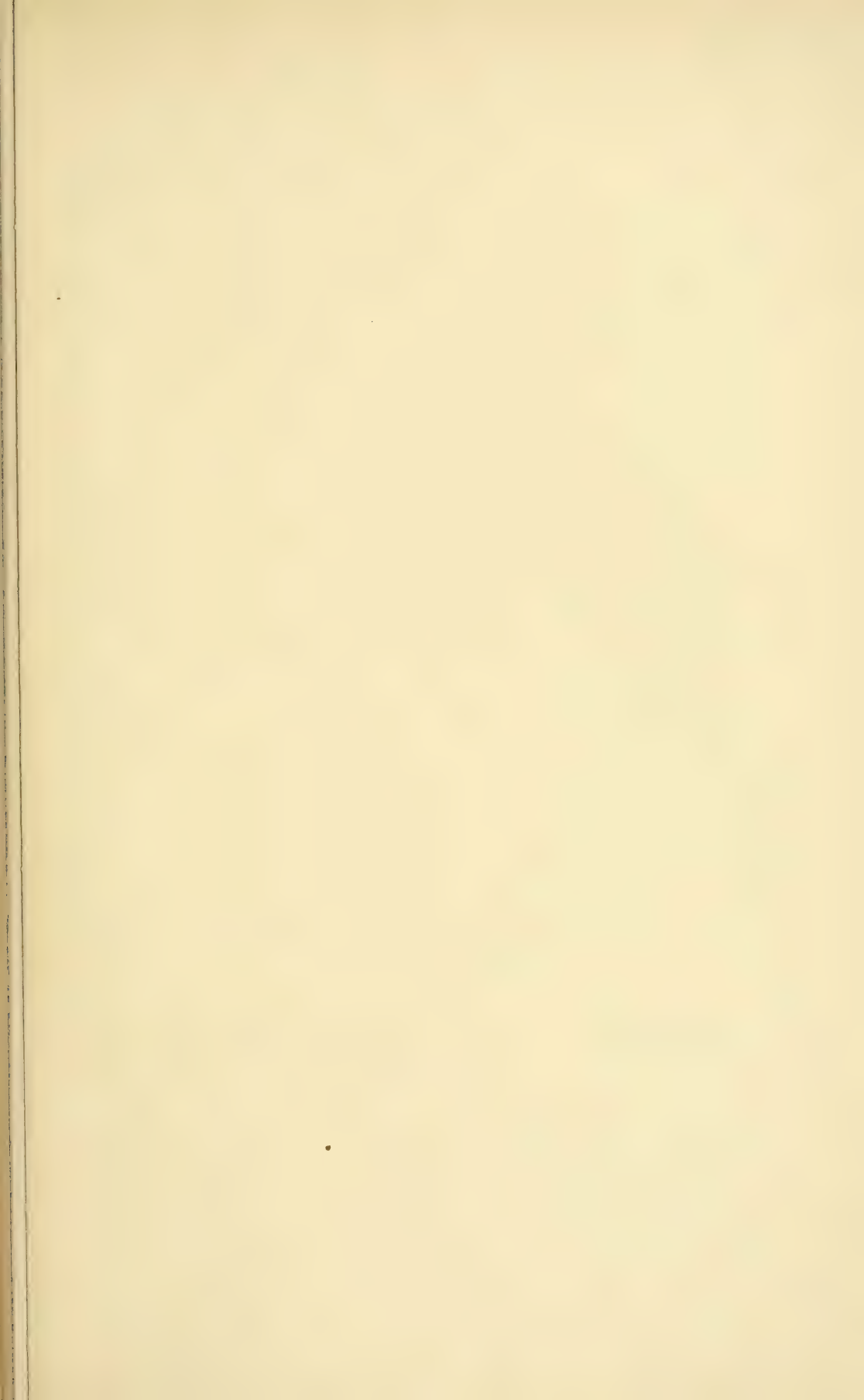
14. Bronze sword: length, 24 in. From a grave-mound at Echzell, Upper Hesse.

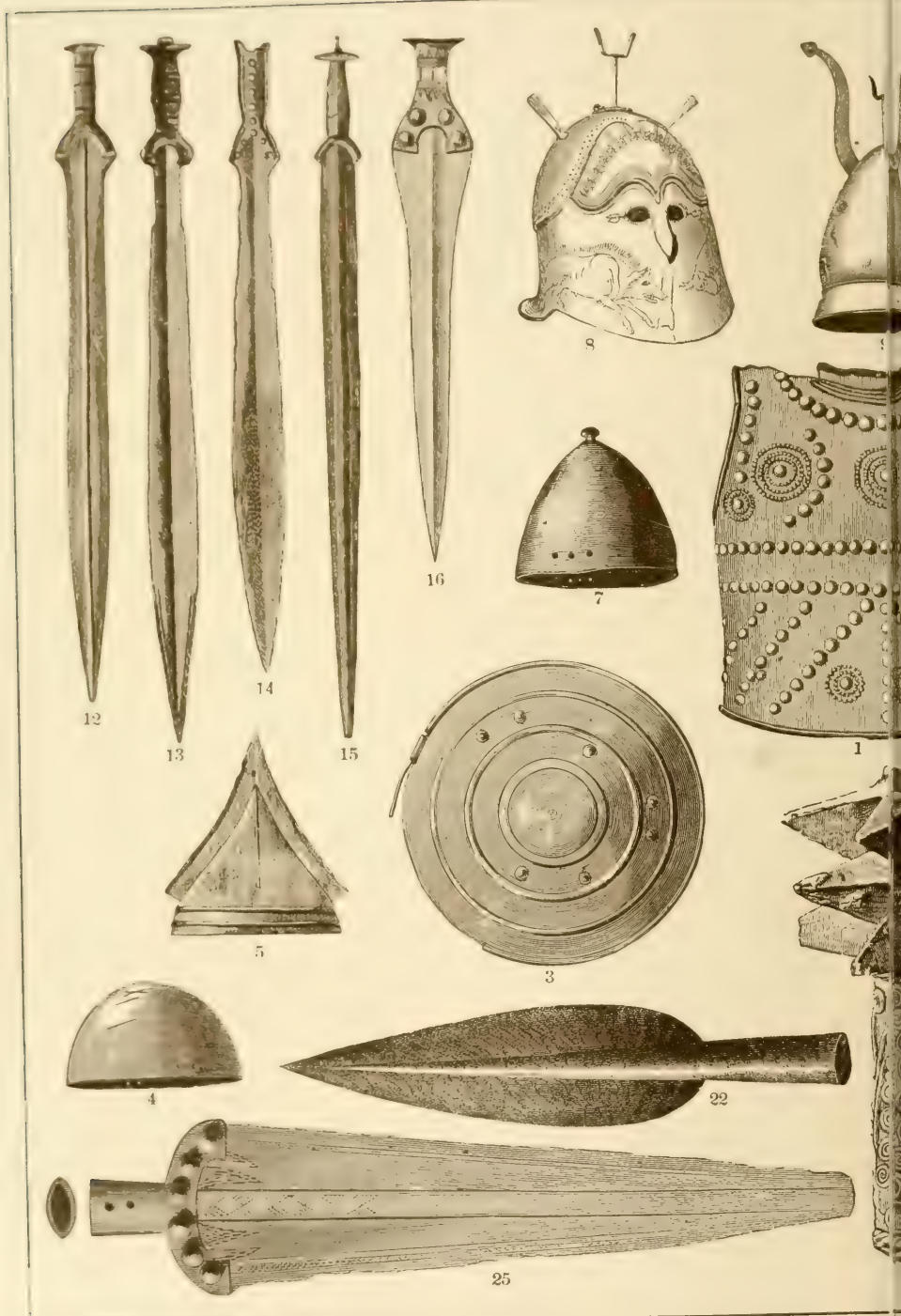
15. Bronze sword of the later period. Landshut, Museum.

16. Bronze dagger: length, 19 in.; haft, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. long; blade, at handle, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. The blade and haft were separately cast, and were attached to each other by rivets, here covered by the four large bosses. Found near Frankfort-on-the-Main.

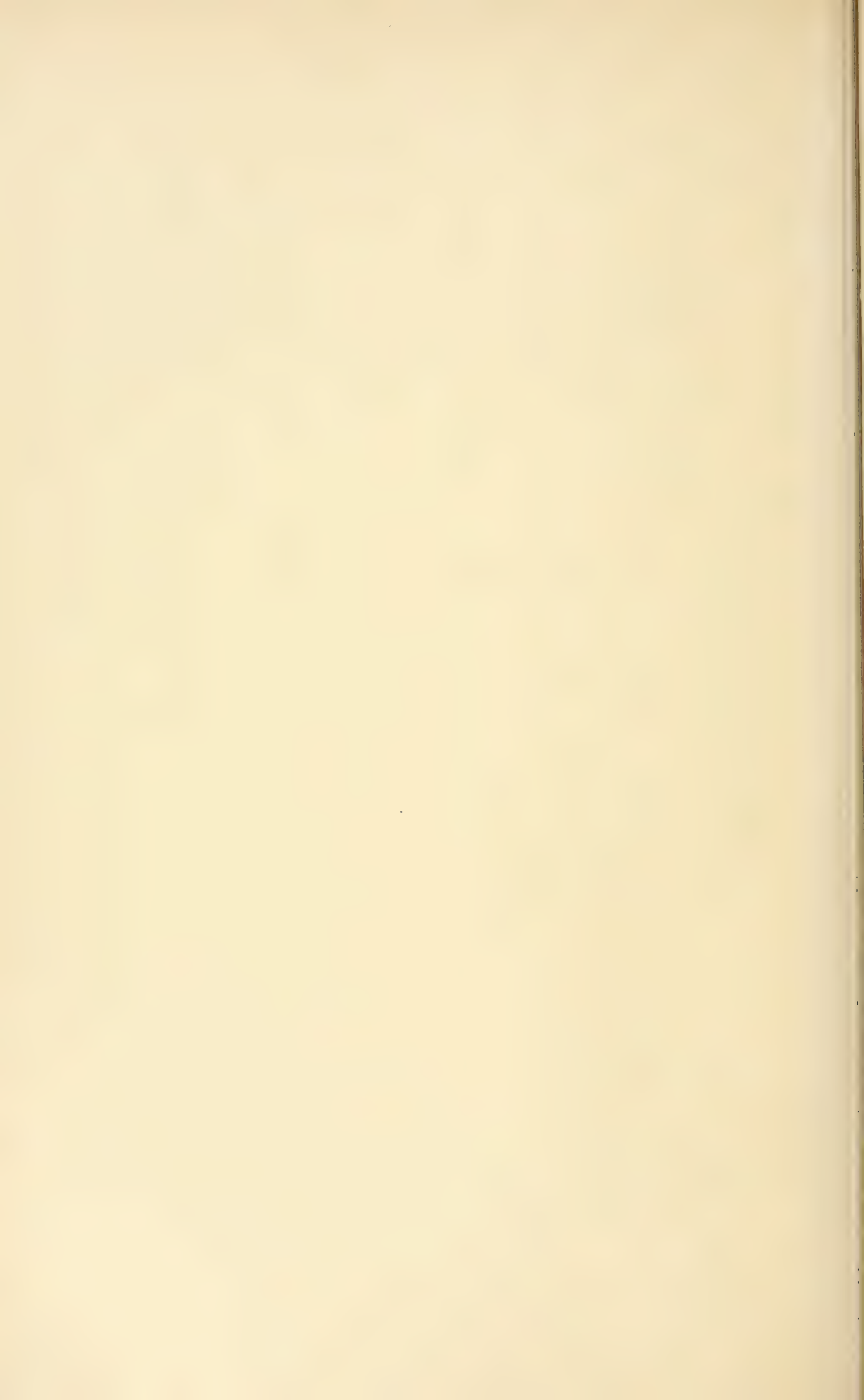
17. Bronze sword: length, $25\frac{1}{2}$ in. Found near Worms.

18. Bronze sword: length, 21 in. Found at Retzow, Mecklenburg.









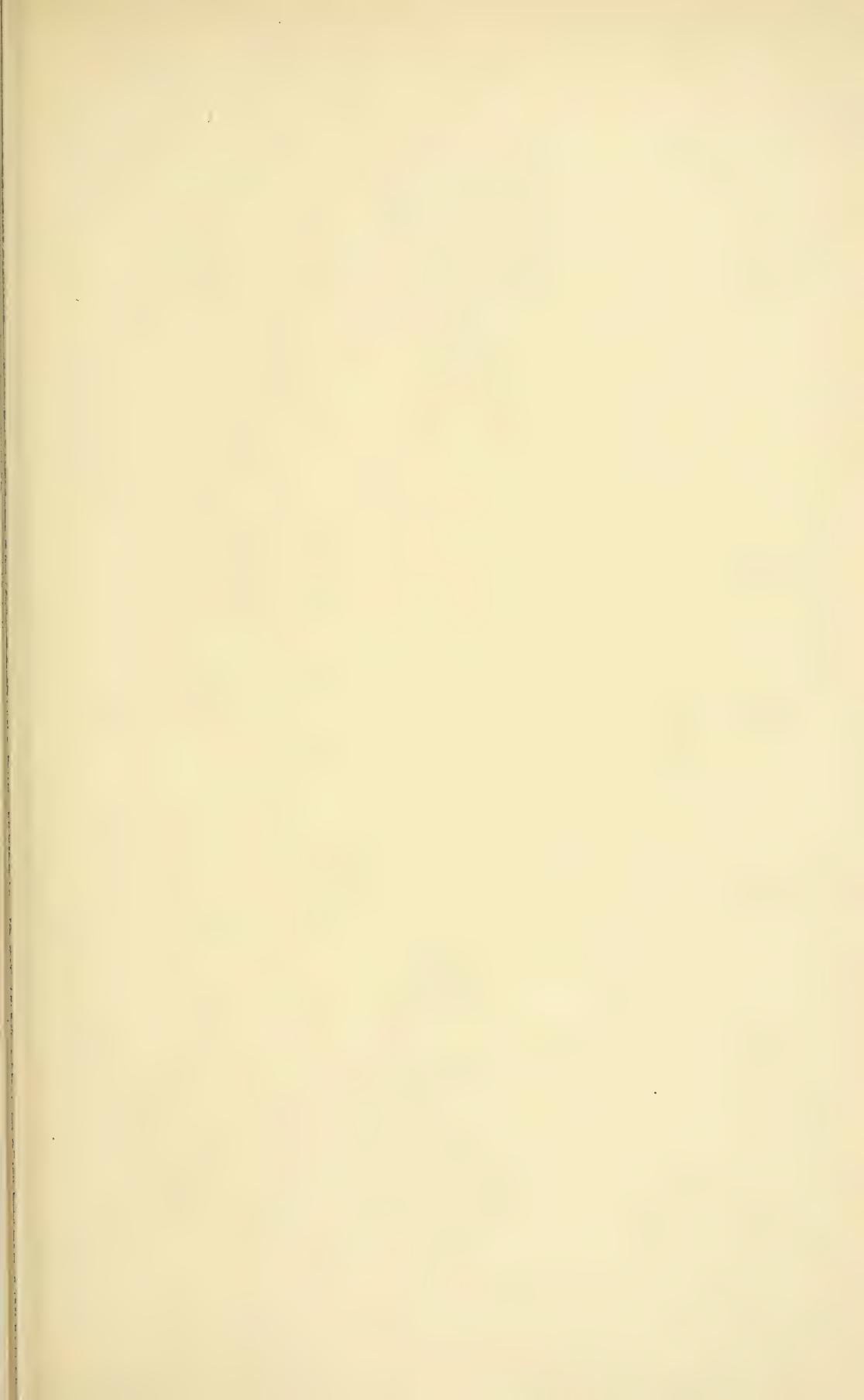


PLATE VII.



Age of Bronze (Hallstatt Period).—Various utensils.

steps to the North. For a considerable time, however, a fully-developed iron period prevailed simultaneously with and alongside of a pure bronze period in the Southern countries. So slowly did the change operate, that iron was in full use in North Italy a thousand years before it reached the coast of the Baltic. It has been estimated that bronze was dominant in the North for the thousand years between the Sixteenth and the Sixth centuries B. C. In Hungary to the east of the Danube, this culture, in its latest development, reaches down to a still later time.

One interesting conclusion from the preceding is that a lively intercourse went on between the various European peoples. The North obviously obtained its metal from Cornwall, and from other lands where iron was already in use. A remarkably rich find of bronzes was made in the graveyards of Koban in the Caucasus; these articles were in part

19. Bronze sword. Found near Bex (Waadtland), in the Lake of Luysel. Bern.
 20. Bronze sword in its scabbard of sheet-bronze ornamented with bosses. Found at Nîmes. Paris.
 21. Bronze short sword. Neuburg-on-Danube, Museum.
 - 22, 23. Bronze spear-heads.
 24. Bronze battle-mace: length, $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. Found in Bavaria.
 25. Bronze dagger: length, $13\frac{1}{2}$ in. Found near Gauböckelheim, Rhenish Hesse.
 26. Bronze dagger: length, $13\frac{1}{4}$ in. Ibid.
- Nos. 1-6, 9-11, 16, 19, 20 are from Lindenschmit.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE VII.

Age of Bronze; Hallstatt Period.—Various Utensils.

1. Burial urn of earthenware. From an urn-cemetery in North Germany. In Munich.
2. Small bronze vase, with embossed work. From Grevenkrug, Kirchspiel Bordes-holm in Holstein. (Undset.)
3. Bronze pitcher. Landshut.
4. Large earthenware vase, with zig-zag ornamentation. Found at Locras. (Gross, les Protohelvétès.)
5. Earthenware vase. Found at Locras. (Gross.)
6. Earthenware vase, with handles. Found at Locras. (Gross.)
- Nos. 4-6, in Gross's collection at Neuville, belong to the Stone Age.
7. Bronze kettle. In Augsburg.
8. Basin of hammered bronze, without handles. From Badelunda-års in Sweden. (Undset.)
9. Bronze kettle. In Augsburg.
10. Basin of hammered bronze: diameter, $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. From a grave-mound in the Lüne-burg district.
11. Vessel of thin cast bronze: height, $7\frac{1}{2}$ in.; diameter, $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. Found near Neu-brandenburg. Strelitz, Museum. (Lindenschmit.)
12. Bowl of hammered or sheet-bronze, with bosses. Found at Oegemose, a moor near the island of Lünen, Denmark. (Undset.)
13. Bronze bucket. In Neuburg-on-the-Danube.
- 14, 15. Cylindrical bronze cista, with eleven ribs, between which are rows of points, punched. The rim is strengthened by a strip of hoop iron. On the upper edge is the sign ||||AA/. This cista was discovered in 1845 at Pansdorf, near Lübeck, in a grave-mound (Undset.)
16. Bronze comb: length, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. From the so-called Woden's mountain at Meldorf.

imported from different places, especially from Greece and Asia Minor, and in part of local origin. They point back to a period a thousand

years before Christ, when iron was beginning to be used in Greece and Italy.

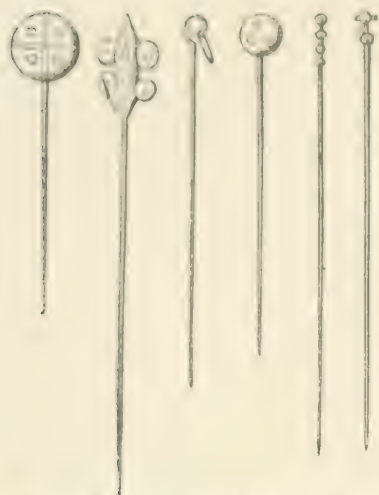


FIG. 13.—Hairpins. 1 and 2, found on the shore, and 3 & 4, in the water, of Lake Geneva, at Lausanne.

If we take a comprehensive survey of the whole Bronze Age, we see that this metal was fitted to meet most varied needs. For war, we have swords, daggers, lances, and arrow-heads of bronze; probably, also, shields and helmets, which might have been imported from Etruria or Magna Graecia. The swords are two-edged and adapted for cutting and thrusting; the blade of moderate length and shaped like a reed; the hilt widening toward the base into an arm-guard, and terminating in a flat, round, or, latterly, a spiral knob. The knives have often thin, arched blades, and tasteful handles

des; the razors are richly ornamented. For ornaments we have fibulae, hairpins with decorative heads (Fig. 13), bracelets, arm- and ear-rings, and necklaces. Trinkets hanging from delicate chains are of frequent occurrence. For domestic use we have cups, goblets, bowls, and vases of sheet-bronze, clay, or even of gold. Spurs and bits show that horses were used for riding, and bronze cars with three or four wheels (the former on one axle) that they were also used for driving in harness.

Peculiarly characteristic of the whole period are the so-called celts (a sort of chisel), of various size and form (Fig. 14). These were furnished with a wooden handle and used for splitting. Earthenware utensils also are numerous, and are often decorated with geometric figures in black or red. They were probably fashioned without aid of a potter's wheel.

We have been fortunate enough to find even articles of clothing from these remote times; a discovery of this sort was made in graves in Jutland, Denmark. There, were found hoods, mantles, and shirts, all of wool; leather straps and shoes (see Figs. 15–17); and garments corresponding to those which Strabo describes as worn on the Tin-islands (*Cassiterides*). Dark-colored coats, reaching to the ground, and bound round the waist with a girdle, were also found. Skins of animals were largely used for clothing, as well as for defensive purposes. With these

the ancient people covered their wooden shields, and an entire hide was often laid on the head as a helmet; the effect was heightened by the threatening mouth of the animal. The dwellings were ordinarily circular huts resting upon piles; sometimes they were partly or wholly underground, and constructed of wood or wicker-work plastered with mud.¹

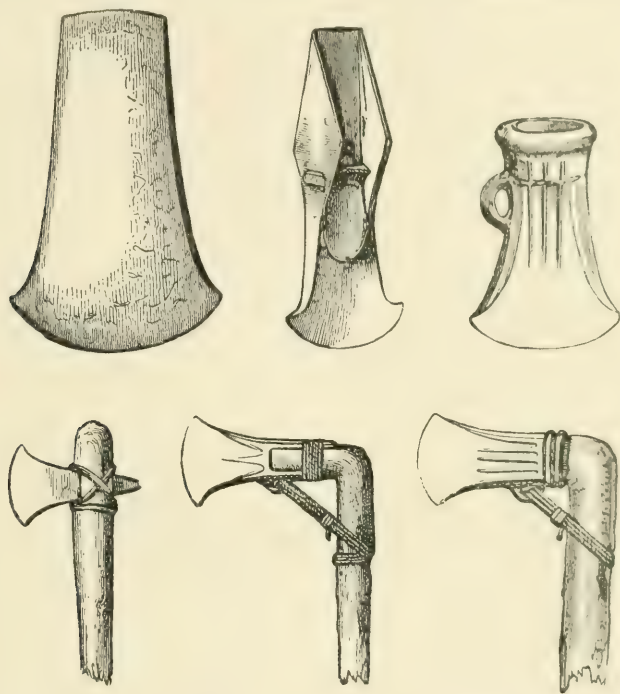


FIG. 14.—Three types of the celt, with indications of the probable methods of mounting. (After Lubbock.) 1. Copper celt, from Waterford, Ireland. 2. Celt with carved sides, from Ireland. 3. Tubular celt, from Ireland.

The people defended themselves in intrenchments or forts of stone and earth.

The methods of disposing of the dead were very various. Cremation and interment were both in use. In the South, urns and stone coffins predominate. The Northern people preferred to give an elevation to the place of burial. Sometimes these elevations consisted of great blocks of stone set up in circular or square form, sometimes of mounds piled up artificially, sometimes of cairns of earth and stones; sometimes they utilized natural mounds. Graves of this character, popularly known

¹ In Scotland, underground dwellings are of stone, and wholly under ground. They are covered by the natural turf, so that they cannot be discovered except by the sound, as one walks over them. They have several apartments.—Tr.

as "giants' graves" (*Hünengräber*), extend over all the North of Europe, as well as a part of South Germany, particularly Wurtemberg. They are also found in Spain, Portugal, Greece, Northern Africa, and even on the Asiatic coast of the Black Sea. Here and there these great



FIG. 15.—Richly ornamented shoe, from a single piece of leather: found on a corpse in the fen near Friedeburg, in East Frisia.



FIG. 16.—Shoe made from a single piece of leather: found in the fen near Uetersen, in Holstein.



FIG. 17.—So-called "shoe of the dead" (*Totenschuh*), found in a wooden coffin ("tree of the dead") from the Alamannian graves near Oberflacht. About 4½ in. long. Probably of Merovingian times.

blocks stand solitary and awe-inspiring on the wide, desolate heaths, where the wind whispers around them the legends of the past. Not rarely the mounds have been levelled and used for the purposes of agriculture, so that only the keen eye of the searcher after antiquities can discern any trace of them.

The abundance of ornaments shows that these early people were as fond of display as their descendants, and the golden crowns, occasionally found in the graves of their princes, tell of their love for pomp. Rude, heavy gold coins came gradually into use; from the shape of these and from the belief that the point of contact between a rainbow and the earth was marked by such a coin, they gave these coins the name of "rainbow-dishes" (*Regenbogenschüsselchen*) (Fig. 18). These increase



FIG. 18.—Three Celtic gold coins. "Rainbow-dishes." (Berlin.)

in frequency down to the time of the Roman Republic. Ring-money preceded these dish-shaped pieces and continued to be used along with them. Cattle-rearing, tillage, rude handicrafts, and commerce were pursued, and the chase afforded both recreation and food. The relatively small number of weapons found indicates that war was not a favorite pastime.

With the introduction of iron, the proper metal for warlike purposes, come great changes. The mighty migrations of races now set in, and the wide expanses of Northern Europe gradually enter into the history of the world.

Iron was first used in the East. Between two blocks of one of the Egyptian pyramids a piece of iron was found which had been unintentionally built in. From the Bible, as well as from other sources, we learn that Egypt was the country in which iron was first employed. In the course of commerce it found its way to Italy, where it is found in ancient cemeteries. From this country, and especially from Etruria, it disseminated itself over the lands north of the Alps. That a not inconsiderable traffic was carried on between the people on either side of this barrier, we know from various circumstances. Vases such as are brought to light in Bavaria have been found in Italian graves. Bronze products from the Greek colonies of Sicily and Campania have been discovered north of the Alps. Liguria, in Northern Italy, carried on a considerable

traffic in amber, probably by sea, with the dwellers on the north coast of Germany.

This new phase of culture developed itself rapidly in the lands bordering the Mediterranean. Its progress was slower in Northern Europe. In every case the form of development was affected by the native temperament of the different peoples. The so-called "urn-cemeteries" mark the earliest stage of this new phase in civilization. One of the most important was that of Maria-Rast in Styria, where 170 graves were opened, and 120 bronzes (all which were ornaments) taken out. Only four articles of iron were found, and none of these were weapons. The bones had been burned, deposited in one urn, and interred at a slight depth. On the ashes lay cup-shaped clay vessels, and a meagre assortment of small implements. The manner of interment resembles that seen at Villanova, and both belong to nearly the same age. This early mode of burial has, indeed, been traced from the Adriatic Sea to Silesia, and thence farther in all directions. Its point of origin seems to have been North Italy.

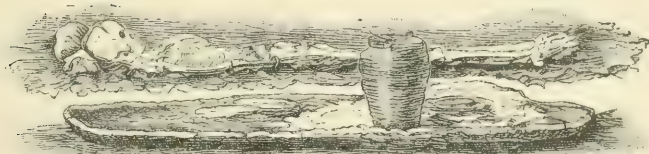
An archaeological discovery of much greater importance was made, in 1846, north of the Alps in the ancient cemeteries near Hallstatt in Upper Austria. Since that year upward of 1000 graves have been opened, and more than 6000 objects taken out (Fig. 19). The bodies had been more frequently burned than interred; in single instances part of the body seems to have been burned, and the other part buried. All the objects discovered appear to belong to nearly the same epoch. Especially noteworthy are the weapons. These are oftener of iron than bronze, yet they not rarely show the characteristic bronze form. The swords are heavy, broad, and well-finished, with blades four feet or less in length, and ending in a point cut obliquely across. The hilt, welded to the blade, terminates in a large knob. Under its shoulder, incisions appear on the side of the blade. Daggers, too, were frequent, with blades usually of iron, and with bronze hilts; also knives, with broad, one-edged arched blades. Among the ornaments are tasteful bronze girdle-plates, richly ornamented with beaten work, and with triangular hooks as a catch. Fibulae of a spiral or bow form had been used as fastenings for the dress. The longer arm-rings are mostly hollow; the smaller solid. They are strung with rows of pearls and balls. The little bangles depending by delicate chains from the girdles, ear-rings, and fibulae (Fig. 20) are also deserving of attention. Bronze domestic utensils are numerous. Peculiar among them are one- and two-handled pails and cross-ribbed chests. The multiform clay utensils show impressed lines, circles, triangles, etc., or colored stripes and bands, generally black or red. Besides bronze, iron, and



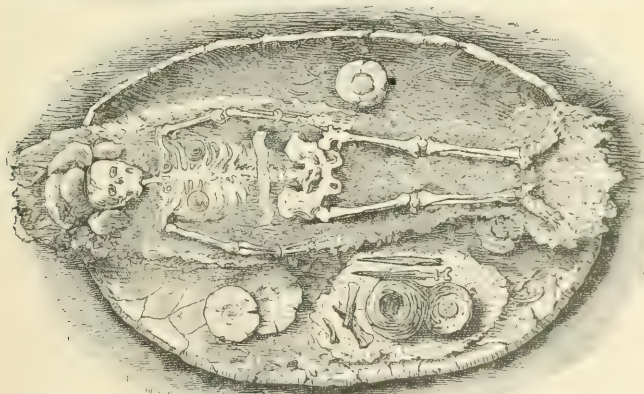
1



3



2



4

FIG. 19.—The Hallstatt graves. 1. In this earthen tray the ashes of the incinerated dead have been gathered with various offerings. 2. Grave occupied in common by an incinerated dead person and by one buried; a large earthenware tray. 3. Double grave: the deceased were buried. 4. Buried corpse, with ornaments. (After von Sacken.)

clay, gold makes its appearance, but only in the smaller trinkets; there is no silver. Amber was used in the form of beads, or for inlaying on sword hilts. In addition to the geometric decorations, we find roughly delineated figures of men and animals, especially horses and birds; plants are entirely wanting in these designs (Fig. 20).

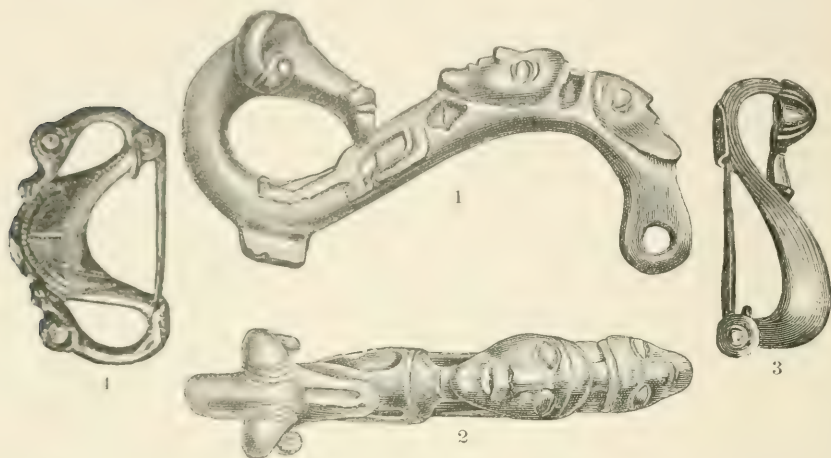


FIG. 20.—1, 2. Brooches from Hallstatt, front and side views: a large pin decorated with two masks and terminating in a ram's head; in the brow of the ram and elsewhere are depressions for colored enamelling. Found at Niederschönhausen, near Berlin. (From Lindenschmit.) 3. Bronze fibula; original size. Found in a grave-mound on the upper Main. (Mayence Museum.) 4. Ornamental bronze pin; $\frac{2}{3}$ original size, view from above. The swan's heads on either side had eyes of red enamel. The pin was ornamented with other colors, now lost, and with incised work. Found at Schwabsburg, between Nierstein and Selzer.

These finds evidence a comparatively high grade of civilization, a strong fondness for outward show, no little industrial skill and activity. The best technique appears in the bronze objects. This metal these people knew how to hammer to a wonderful degree of thinness and evenness, to fashion into any desired form, to rivet, and decorate with ornaments. Scarcely less skilled were they in separating iron from its ore, and in forging it. As a whole, the objects at Hallstatt are the result of various influences—especially North Italian—operating on native temperament and native industry.

The first finds made at Hallstatt were of such high importance that they have given the name of the Hallstatt Period to a whole culture-period, whose products, even in districts the farthest remote from each other, exhibit the same fundamental forms. These products are found in regions extending from the High Alps on the south to a line drawn



Hallstatt Graves.—Weapons, ornaments, and other objects.



ments, vases, and other utensils.



through Giessen (50° 35' N. lat.), Fulda, Bayreuth, and Passau on the north, and from Hungary on the east to Besançon and Saarbruck on the west, thus comprising nearly all South Germany and the north of Switzerland, with outlying territory. The chief seats of this culture were on the Upper Danube, the Upper and Middle Rhine, and in West Switzerland. Very fine and pure specimens of the period have been taken from the urn-hills of Watsch and St. Margaret's in Carniola, along with arrow-heads of Greek type belonging to between the Fourth and Second Centuries B. C. On the whole, we conclude that this culture was in its bloom in the middle centuries of the last thousand years before Christ, and continued so to maintain itself, at least partially, till the Christian era. In the West it was probably younger than in the East and South, and may have been peculiar to many different Celtic peoples (PLATE VIII.¹).

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE VIII.

Hallstatt Graves. Weapons, ornaments, vases, and other utensils.

1. Bronze belt ornament. From a grave-mound near Habsthal. Signaringen, Museum.
2. Fragment of a bronze belt ornament of thin plate. From a grave-mound in the canton of Zurich. Zurich, Museum.
3. Breast-plate, decorated with figures of horses, swans, and repoussée bosses to which bits of bronze are suspended. Margin restored.
4. Belt of sheet-bronze, with repoussée ornamentation.
5. Fragment of belt; bronze plate.
- 6, 7. Belt of sheet-bronze, with repoussée ornamentation.
8. Part of belt, as No. 7.
9. Part of a large belt adorned with human figures and horses.
10. Bronze neck-band, repoussée ornament.
11. Belt of bronze, with repoussée ornament.
12. Part of a strip of black woollen material, with interwoven horse hairs and a brown ornamentation of a chessboard pattern.
13. Hanging ornament in wheel form.
14. Chain used as a belt, complete ($\frac{2}{3}$ original size): the hook, in the form of a long-necked animal with ears, rests upon a support consisting of two strips of metal which show traces of an enamel in color. Found in a grave near Kreuznach.
15. Crescent-shaped fibula, with chains hanging therefrom.
16. Hanging ornament.
17. A *bulla*, made of two convex disks ornamented with raised work: chains hang therefrom.
18. Bronze belt, with metallic fringe.
19. Ornamental pin, the point of which is protected by a special socket.
- 20, 21, 22. Bracelets.
23. Hollow ring for the neck.
24. Neck-band.
25. Pin mounted on with four spirals.
26. Golden brooch.
27. Spiral fibula, with thread that gradually diminishes in thickness.
- 28, 29, 30. Safety-pins.
31. Fibula with a cross-piece: wound with wire.

The discoveries at Hallstatt in the East correspond to discoveries in the West, in Switzerland. Near the little village of Marin, at the north end of the lake of Neuenburg, a pile-building was found, called, in the fisher-dialect of the district, "La-Tène." It was especially rich in iron implements of a distinctly defined character. The finds multiplied them-

32. Fibula with hollow.
 33. Safety-pin, with spring in circle.
 34. Iron spear-head, leaf-shaped.
 35. Long iron spear-head, with sharp side ridges.
 37. Helmet with two combs: hooks in front and behind on which to attach a pompon: small bosses around the rim, and at the side holes for strings to pass under the chin.
 38. The largest sword found at Hallstatt: blade of iron, handle and knob at the end set with amber.
 39. Bronze sword; the tongue handle was once covered with wood or horn.
 40. Bronze sword of the earlier pattern: intentionally broken into four parts when laid in the grave.
 41. Highly ornamented dagger: the ribbed blade is of iron; the handle is decorated with small figures, and the bronze sheath with pearls.
 42. Long iron dagger: handle of bronze.
 43. Iron dagger with one cutting edge: handle and sheath covered with gold leaf.
 44. Iron knife-blade.
 45. Iron chopping-knife.
 46. Iron wedge, in the socket of which are fragments of a wooden handle.
 47. Thin iron wedges.
 - 48, 49. Bronze wedges.
 50. Stand for a kettle (?) adorned with disks, and the figures of birds in relief.
 51. Bronze kettle, with a cover and two handles.
 52. Cover of No. 51, with figures of animals in archaic style.
 53. Cover of a similar kettle decorated with rosettes and figures of dogs in relief.
 54. Large bronze ladle.
 55. Bronze bowl, with ribbed sides.
 56. Earthenware bowl: meander pattern in white.
 57. Vessel of sheet-bronze; a band of nails, with conical-shaped heads, holds together the two parts of this vessel.
 58. Kettle of sheet-bronze.
 59. Dish of sheet-bronze: edge decorated with circles and figures of waterfowl in relief.
 60. Dish of fine clay, baked hard; with ribbed sides, and ornaments picked out in green.
 61. Dish of sheet-bronze, with hollow foot.
 62. Bucket, bound with convex bands of sheet-bronze.
 63. Disk-shaped ornament.
 64. Bronze fowl, with two handles, the upper part of the body decorated with an incised meander pattern.
 65. Basin of sheet-bronze.
 66. Bronze ladle in the form of a pitcher.
 67. Ornament in the shape of the upper part of the human body.
 68. Ornament in the shape of an ox.
 69. Bronze safety-pin, in the form of an animal.
 70. Small bronze axe-head, probably carried on a staff as a token of dignity.
 71. Fish-hook.
- Nos. 1, 2, and 14 from Lindenschmit: the remainder from von Sacken.

selves in other localities, till it was seen we had to do with a more recent civilization derived from the West. It had its primary home in Middle and Southern Gaul, originating directly from Marseillaise influences, but indirectly from South Etruscan. From France it spread over Switzerland and South Germany, where it seems to have occupied much the

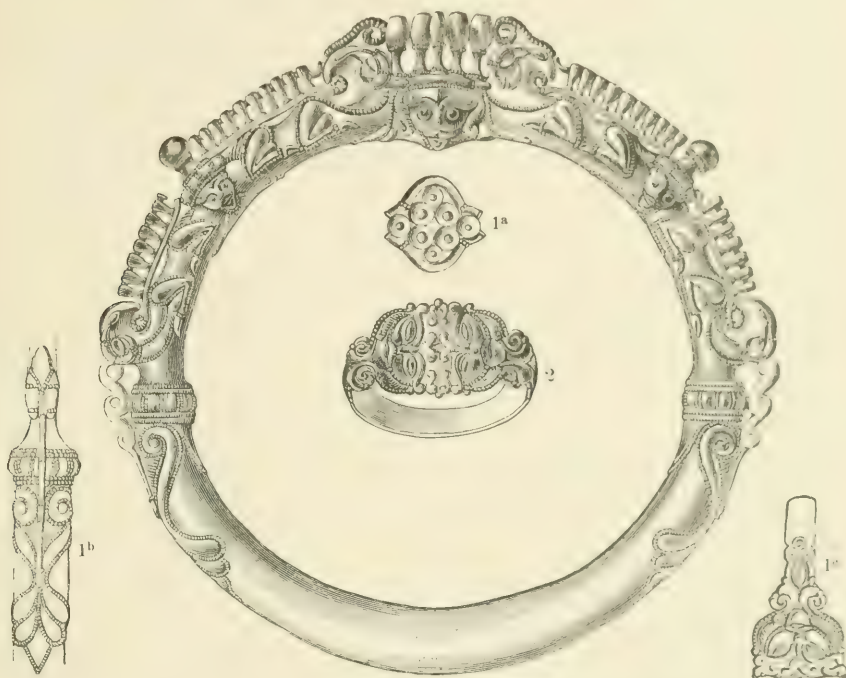


FIG. 21.—Gold bracelet and finger-ring from the grave-mound at Rodenbach in the Rhine Palatinate. Original size. 1. The bracelet is hollow; the ornamentation here in view is repeated on the under side; the central point is a grotesque mask of a human face with a peculiar ornament upon his head (in 1^a figured as viewed from above). At each side are rams with averted heads and filigree work. Then follow two small human faces, and again two grotesque figures of rams; the ornament then continues in the form of a sort of palmette (as in 1^b). 2. In the finger-ring the ornament consists of two human masks placed top to top: their eyebrows are exaggerated; they have whiskers and a peculiar lock across the cheek. Below is a leaf ornament. These objects belong to the earliest La-Tène Period; possibly, however, they are Etruscan importations. (After Lindenschmit.)

same region as the Hallstatt, except that the Upper Danube country takes a second place as compared with Rhineland and West Switzerland. Traces of this culture are to be found in North Italy, Hungary, North Germany, Lithuania, Scandinavia, Britain, and Ireland. Its duration can be determined especially from the coins peculiar to it, which have been discovered; among these are copies of the Macedonian tetradrachms later

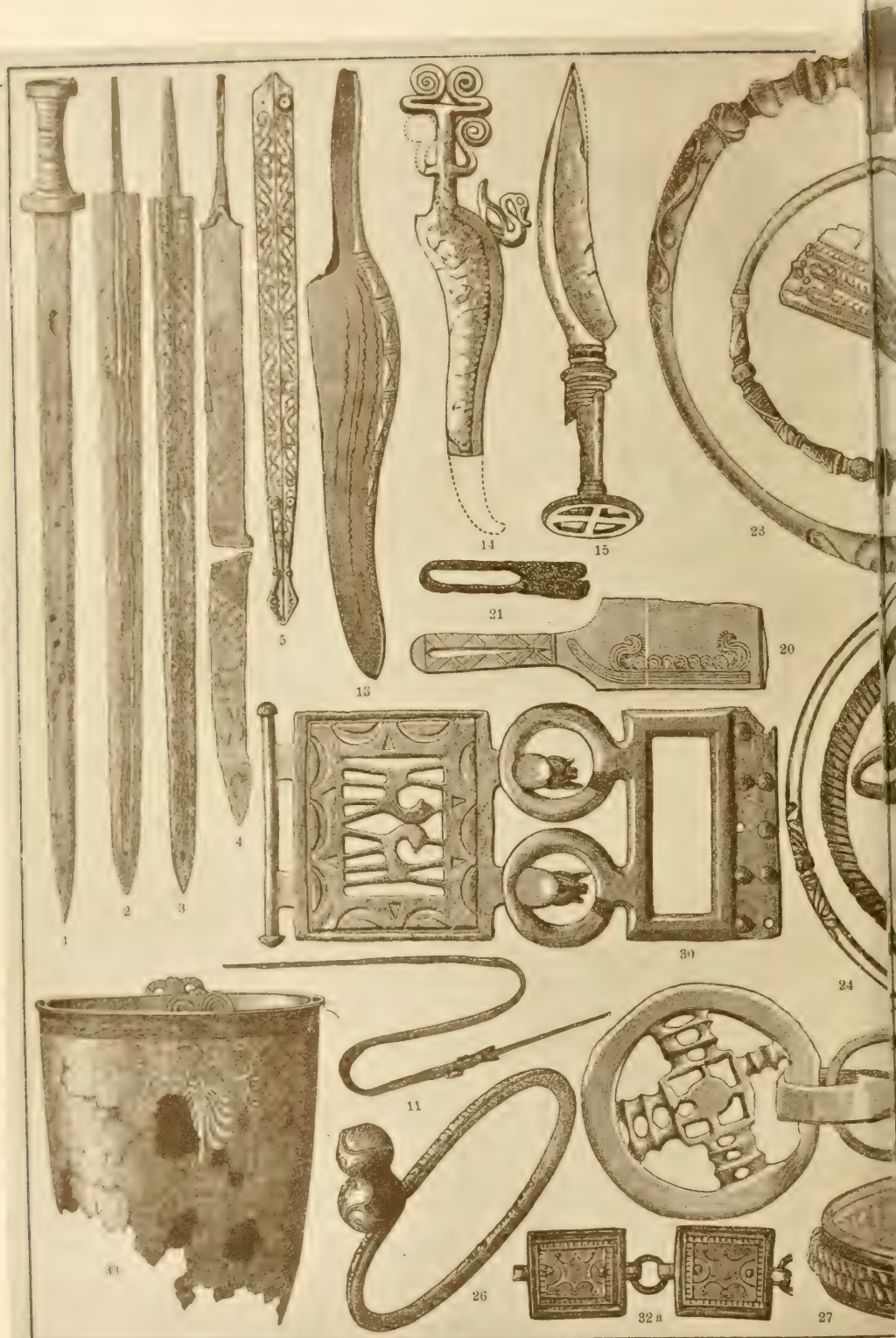
than Philip II. It embraces, therefore, the last centuries B. C. and continues down to Roman times. Britain was its last seat. Objects characteristic of the La-Tène and of the Hallstatt periods are seldom found together, but their occasional discovery at the same place goes to prove that both cultures had for a while existed side by side.

The objects of the La-Tène Period are distinguished by their rounded form and distinct outlines. The most readily recognized product is a buckle or clasp, backward bent and worked from one piece. The swords have thin iron blades six feet or less in length, with sheaths of thin sheet-iron or bronze. The hilt is a small iron spike with a knob at the end, and covered with wood or horn. Along with the long swords are shorter ones for thrusting, besides daggers. The lance-points are lancet-shaped, with a strong middle rib. Among the ornaments, the girdle-hooks, composed of one or two animal heads, claim especial notice (cf. Fig. 21). Among the utensils are beaked bronze pitchers with high, projecting spouts. Arm- and neck-rings were decorated with knobs and shell- or ear-shaped projections. These rings are often of colored glass. The rings of the finely-worked bronze chains were united by smaller intermediate links. The ornamentation betrays a partially classic motive, modified by native individuality. For the first time appear enamelled disks of red, easily fusible, glass. Silver makes its first appearance. Dishes and vases are occasionally of considerable size, the former uniformly deep, the latter big-bellied. (PLATE IX.¹)

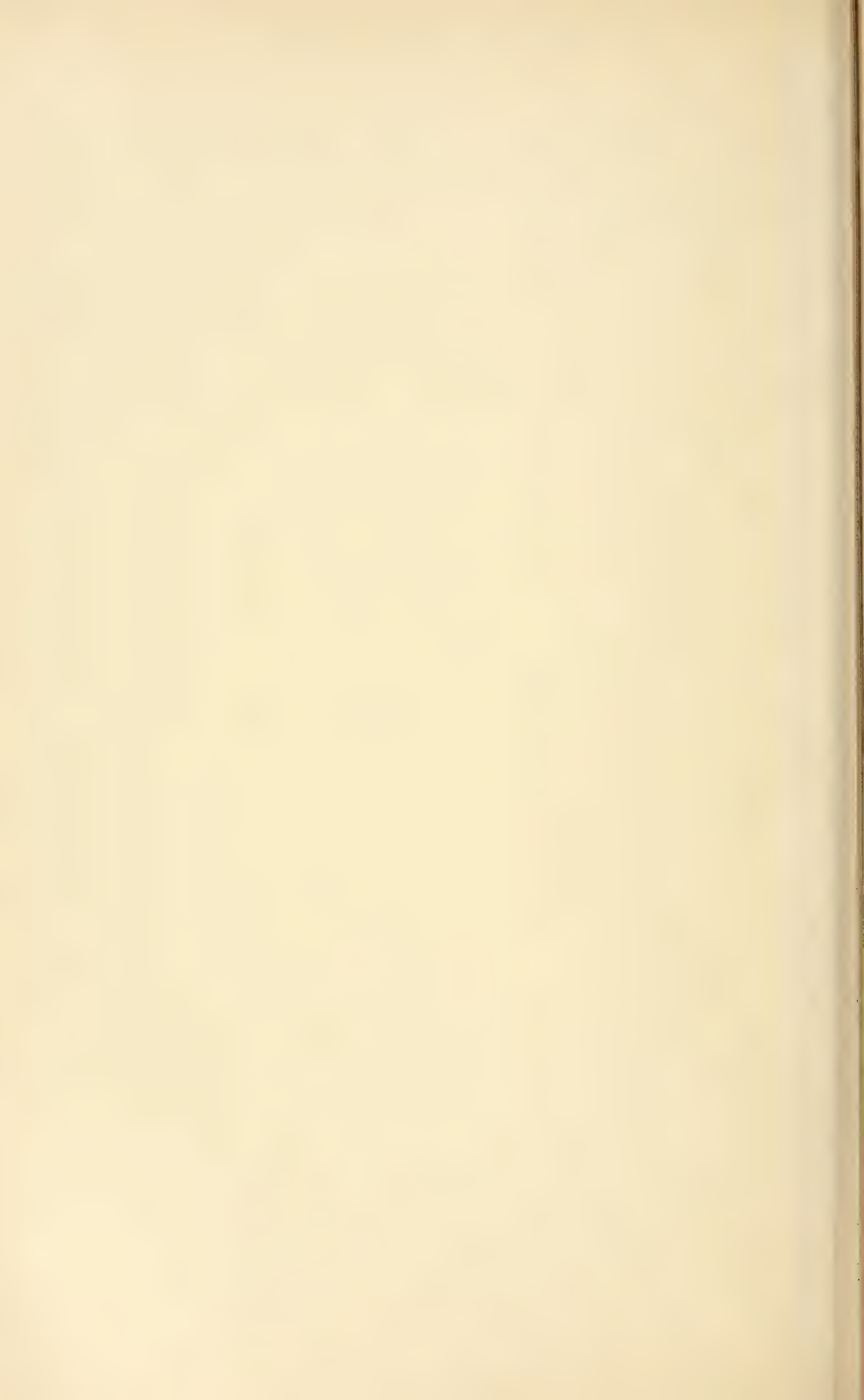
¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE IX.

The Age of Iron (La-Tène Period).—Weapons and domestic utensils.

1. Two-edged iron sword: the handle a wooden frame on which is wrapped ribbed sheet-silver. Found in a fen in Schleswig.
2. Iron sword-blade, with central piece in wavy damascene work. The blade consists of three sections united lengthwise: the central section is a piece made up of several threads or rods of iron welded or hammered together: the cutting edges, however, are welded to the central piece, and are of softer iron, as appears from the nicks on their surface. *Ibid.*
3. Damascened sword-blade of iron, of beautiful workmanship. *Ibid.*
4. Iron sword: found in a scabbard, a blade of sheet-iron, which when discovered was bent double and in pieces. From a grave at Heidesheim, near Ingelheim.
5. Front side of a bronze scabbard, with engraved ornamentation: the back of the scabbard was of wood and leather. Found in the Tweed near Carham in Northumberland.
6. Bronze scabbard.
- 7, 8. Front and back of a La-Tène sword in its scabbard. In Biel.
- 9, 10. Front and back of a La-Tène sword with the upper part of the scabbard. In Biel.
11. A La-Tène sword in its scabbard, bent into an S-shape.
12. An unusually large La-Tène spear-head. In Landshut.
13. Knife, from Switzerland.
- 14, 15, 16. Knives, from Danish graves.
17. Knife, from Switzerland.
18. Knife, from a stone chest in a grave-mound near Wennbüttel.







We have before us an advanced iron culture, exhibiting remarkably skilful workmanship, perhaps executed in shops or factories. Frequently we come on objects betraying strong foreign influences and suggesting active commercial intercourse. Taken all in all, however, the culture is native and independent. In the excavations on the site of the ancient settlement of Bibracte, workshops of Gallic goldsmiths have been discovered, wherein the enamelled work referred to above was produced; and at Stradonic, in Bohemia, a workshop was found containing many unfinished

19. Razor, from Denmark.

20. Bronze knife, decorated with the figure of a boat. Found in Holstein. Kiel, Museum.

21. Shears. In Munich.

22. Bronze neck-ring, found in a grave at Sierre, in Wallis, Switzerland.

23. Bronze neck-ring: the knobs at the end of unusual size. Found in the Vosges, France. In the Museum of St. Germain.

24. Gold neck-ring. The ornamentation suggests Etruscan origin. $\frac{1}{2}$ original size. Found with a bronze tripod at Dürkheim, in Rhenish Bavaria. Spire, Museum.

25. Bronze neck-ring: $\frac{5}{13}$ original size: diameter $6\frac{7}{16}$ in.: weight 18.81 oz. Troy: it is covered with a bright green patina, and is made up of tightly wound strands which terminate in two knobs. Found in the Hainerfeld near Kraft Solms. In private possession.

26. Bronze armlet: decorated on the outer surface with low ridges, and ending in balls adorned with the triquetrum. Found near Kelbye, in the Danish island of Møen.

27. Armlet of dark-blue glass: about $\frac{5}{8}$ original size. From a grave at Heimersheim, in Rhenish Hesse. Wiesbaden, Museum.

28. Bronze cloak-pin: $\frac{5}{8}$ original size. The bow is decorated with circles and stripes. Beyond the catch for the pin there is an upward curve terminating in a disk-like knob which is attached to the bow. Upon this knob is a disk of bright-red frit held in place by a very small plate of bronze, which is itself divided into three parts after a fashion that may be regarded as characteristic of certain bronze objects from our grave-mounds. Found at Hard near Zurich. Zurich, Museum.

29. Iron fibula: found in a vase with incinerated bones at Tageröde, Sweden. (Undset.)

30. Bronze belt-clasp: $\frac{4}{5}$ original size. One part of the clasp consists of a central metallic plate so cut out as to give the silhouette the outlines of two fantastic animals. The depressions in the margin of this plate were once filled with coloring matter. At the left of this central plate is a contrivance by which the belt could be attached to the buckle; at the right are the hooks, which are shaped like the heads of animals with narrow eyes and pointed ears, in profile appearing to have open jaws. The other part of the clasp consists of a stout frame, which on the left carries the eyes into which the hooks fit, and on the right a narrow plate; this plate was attached to the leather of the belt by ten rivets. Found in France. Paris, Artillery Museum.

31. Bronze snaffle of a horse's bit: $\frac{2}{3}$ original size. From the two ends of the bit hang a ring and an ornamental disk, which resembles a wheel with four spokes of open work. In place of a hub, at the centre of the wheel is a quadrangular space which is partially filled by a rude imitation of a human figure. Found in Bavaria. Munich, National Museum.

32^a, 32^b. Parts of a belt consisting of small oblong pieces of sheet-bronze linked together. (Undset.)

33. Bronze pail. It may be of Etruscan origin: it certainly antedates the Roman era.

34. Bronze pitcher (Greek *oenochōē*): greatest height, $14\frac{3}{4}$ in.: greatest width, $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. Found in the grave-mounds in the Klein-Aspergle near Ludwigsburg.

Nos. 1-6, 20, 22, 23, and 34 are taken from Lindenschmit; Nos. 13-17, and 19, from Lubbock.

pieces, among others fibulae with the wire not yet wound on them. We see how far man had advanced. In the Hallstatt Period cremation and interment were practised simultaneously. In the La-Tène Period burning was rare, the dead being interred—sometimes under mounds, sometimes on the level ground.

Bohemia is especially rich in remains of all these ancient periods, from the Age of Stone downward. Many remains there found point to long-continued city-like settlements, the numerous coins indicating a Celtic population. Many burial-places have been discovered yielding rich results in iron articles, in conjunction with which a coin of Nerva was once found, as well as repeated examples of provincial Roman bronze vessels. We encounter here the memorials of an industrious and peaceful people skilled in agriculture and in working in metal. Masses of crude amber seem to indicate that this costly ware was imported hither in order to be transmitted to the South, while the North received in return the manufactured wares of the South. Bohemia appears to have been a great commercial emporium for North, Middle, and South Europe.

Geographically and archæologically Germany is divided into two grand divisions—viz., the North and the South—by the Carpathian, the Erzgebirge, and the Thuringian mountain ranges, by the Westerwald, and by the lower reaches of the Rhine. The North, again, falls into two subdivisions—viz., North Germany and Scandinavia, with Schleswig intermediate. Through all North Germany, to the confines of Russia, urn burial-places are to be found. These seem to have had their origin in Middle Europe, spreading out fan-like from Bohemia and Moravia, and following, in great measure, the courses of the rivers. Those lying nearest the points of origin are naturally the oldest; the latest being those in the far Northwest and Northeast, where we find them contemporaneous with the articles belonging to the Age of Bronze. In Silesia and Posen, on the other hand, they occur in a mixed Bronze and Iron period, which may arise from the fact that iron was earlier known and utilized in the East than in the West. The farther north we go, the rarer become these urn-cemeteries, and in their place appear artificial mounds with numerous urn-graves (Fig. 22). Here, for the first time, we find these contemporaneously with a fully developed Iron period. In the Northeast, as in the North, we find, as we proceed, that, along with urn-graves, graves containing stone coffins or *kistvaens* become increasingly frequent, in which bronze articles appear in association with iron.

The oldest iron objects in the North belong to the Hallstatt Period, and were probably imported from the South and Southeast. In the West, they seem to have been introduced along the line of the Rhine and

Weser. In the East, on the other hand, they took the route from Moravia to Polish Silesia, where the land is partially ferriferous. Here the people

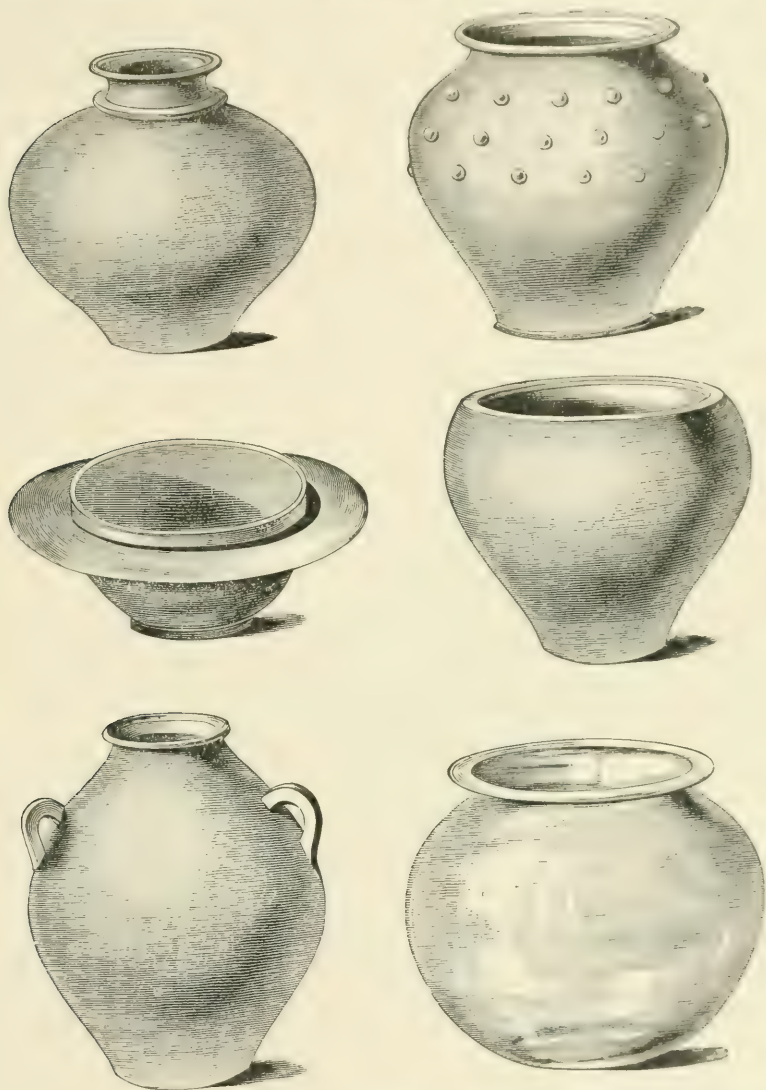


FIG. 22.—Sepulchral urns found in 1844, 1845, on the Rosenauberg near Augsburg. At the lower right-hand corner a rare vase of glass, 8 in. high, with an opening $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter. Augsburg, Maximilian's Museum.

began to work independently, their productions at first resembling those of the Age of Bronze. Bronze continued to be used longest in the region

between the Oder and the Elbe, where the numerous finds of the Hallstatt period are exclusively of this metal (Figs. 23, 24).

Excepting in this last district, and Prussian Silesia and Posen—where we find a mixed culture—the culture is now exclusively that of the Later La-Tène Period, in which the new metal, iron, had attained such ascendancy that the period may properly be said to belong to the Age of Iron. In the main, this culture spread from South to North, and, for North Germany, particularly from Thuringia. The culture radiating from the Rhine seems to have had only a secondary influence here; that from the East, none whatever. Hanover is especially rich in objects of this period, whereas its neighboring district, Mecklenburg, did not develop an iron culture till down in the Roman period. In Silesia but few La-

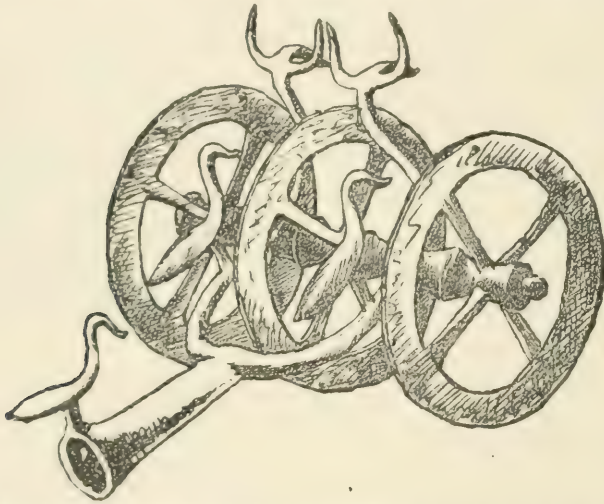


FIG. 23.—Small bronze chariot, found in a fen near Burg, in the Spree forest. Three four-spoked wheels upon an axle. The pole terminates in two branches which rise above the axle into the necks of swans and end in birds' heads with horns. Three birds are perched on the pole. Probably used in religious ceremonies. (From Undset.)

Tène relics are to be found, and east of the Vistula, only single specimens, and that rarely. In many districts the new culture supplanted the old only by slow degrees; elsewhere, as to the west of the lower waters of the Vistula, the change was sharp and sudden. The people here learned to excavate the metal from their own soil and to utilize it, sometimes adopting the old bronze patterns, sometimes those of imported iron articles. In either case they allowed considerable scope to local ideas and taste. The art of casting metal—an heirloom from the Bronze period—and the newer art of forging came both into use. The manner of interment was

not, however, affected by the change of culture. While in the old Thuringian La-Tène district the inhabitants held fast to their customary skeleton-graves, in North Germany we continue to find great common cemeteries of urn-fields, urn-mounds, single tombs containing incinerated bones, or finally trench-like excavations into which the ashes of the dead with the remains of their funeral piles were cast indiscriminately.

While there is little doubt but that the Hallstatt culture was Celtic, that of the La-Tène was certainly so. On the contrary, the dwellers in North Germany seem to have been German as early as the Age of Bronze. The earliest use of iron among the Germanic tribes was therefore due to Celtic influences. Nothing goes to show that the appearance of iron was coincident with the incoming of a new race. In North Germany, traffic



FIG. 24.—Bronze vase, found in a fen near Lavingsgard, in Odensee. In this vase were found eleven smaller ones, made of embossed gold, with long handles terminating in animals' heads; about $\frac{1}{4}$ the original size. (After Undset.)

in iron articles probably began in the Fourth Century B. C., and the La-Tène Period continued through the two last centuries before the Christian era. By that time, the Romans had gained a firm footing on the Rhine and north of the Alps generally, and with their advent a new culture dawned on Northern Europe. The La-Tène Period was at an end; Roman civilization superseded it.

In Scandinavia, the Age of Bronze continued until the Second Century of our era, when it was superseded, through Roman influence, by that of Iron. The La-Tène Period influenced but slightly the civilization of Scandinavia.

In all times Central Europe has been a land of high historic importance. Bohemia, on the one side, and East Switzerland as far as Savoy, with the districts of the Middle and Upper Rhine and the Upper Danube, on the other, were early developed and were richly peopled. Very ancient commercial emporia, and centres for the production of metallic objects are to be recognized there, and in East Switzerland especially, in astonishing numbers. These districts, long before the Romans introduced their solidly-built military roads, had been overspread by a network of routes for interprovincial traffic, which toward the north followed the courses of the rivers. In South Germany, with but few exceptions, only the coins known as rainbow-dishes have been found; on the left bank of the Rhine and on the Lower Main, however, these coins are rare compared with other varieties of Celtic money. In East and North Switzerland both systems are found in contact, a fact that testifies to the great industrial activity and multiform commercial relations of the people of these regions.

The general impression made on us by these memorials of the past is that we are dealing with races highly susceptible, slowly but strongly developing themselves in many directions, fond of display, skilled in extracting metals and minerals from the bowels of the earth. Their manner of disposing of their dead speaks of a thoughtful spirit and a loving remembrance of the departed. The numerous broken weapons found lying in the graves indicate that they meant that no one in future should use the arms the dead had been wont to wield. In a cave in Moravia traces were found of a great sacrificial festival at which, from appearances, human beings had been offered. On a high plain on the Aar, bent and broken swords were found, as if they had been gathered together after a battle, burned, and buried with the slain.

We have already, more than once, indicated the nationalities to which the various cultures seem to have been peculiar. Another science—that of Comparative Philology—gives a clearer and more definite glimpse into this question of races. From it we learn that when a whole class of tongues are cognate to each other, they point back to an original common speech and a common primeval ancestry. In the case in hand, the parent speech and parent stock indicated are the Aryan or Indo-Germanic. This ancient people branched off into various nationalities—into Old Persians and Hindus on the one side, and into Greeks, Italians, Celts, Slavonians,

and Armenians on the other. By collation of the words common to all their tongues, we can learn something of the condition of the primeval folk. These people reared domestic animals and raised grain, clad themselves in some sort of clothing, carried weapons, and housed themselves in settlements, though these were not permanently fixed. They appear to have been acquainted with metals, to have prayed to the gods, to have cherished the family life, and even to have laid the foundations of a civic life. The people had emerged from the lowest stage in civilization—that of the hunter and fisher. Scholars have endeavored to determine the original home of this ancient people. It seems to have been in the neighborhood of lofty mountains and in a temperate climate. It has long been maintained that such a region must be sought for in Central Asia; but this view is by no means certain, as is pointed out below. Over-population, changes in soil and climate, and hostile tribes, compelled the Aryans to migrate, but so that the Indo-Persian and the European branches continued together for a time, until this latter branch began to split up and to wander forth in separate sections.

While the Greeks and Italians took possession of the attractive Mediterranean peninsulas, the Celts moved in a broad stream over Middle Europe, till they reached the Atlantic Ocean. This people fixed their chief seat in France, occupying the British Isles on the North, and, in the South, spreading beyond the Pyrenees and the Alps. The Germans and Slavonians appear to have journeyed as a united body, and to have taken the route into the heart of Russia. They, too, split, the Slavonians remaining in their new home, while the Germans, following the course of the rivers, continued their march northwestward till they reached the shores of the Baltic. Gradually the main body of this people kept creeping along the coast, settling it as they advanced, till its vanguard, the Teutones, reached Jutland. Another section crossed the sea into Scandinavia, while the Bastarnæ, again following the river-courses, wandered toward the south and southeast.

In opposition to this theory, another has been recently promulgated, which locates the primeval Aryans more toward the northwest. The early dwellers in Europe imagined themselves to have originated in the countries they inhabited, and their legends, though hardly primeval, seem to lend support to this belief. Their cognate tongues prove, without doubt, that they had lived for long ages together as one people. Already, in the last centuries of the pre-Christian era, the Slavs had, as it were, hived off and become a distinct race, settled in modern Russia. Their western neighbors were the Germans, whose settlements, in the Fourth Century B. C., comprised, apparently, Scandinavia, the Baltic provinces,

and North and Middle Germany as far south as Thuringia. South of them, up to the Alps, were the Celts, whose fatherland was South Germany and France. The earliest movements of these peoples of which we have knowledge, appear not to have been toward the west, but toward the south and east. After the power of the Celts had begun to wane, the Germans burst through the mountain forests of Middle Germany and pressed southward, and westward over the Rhine, while the Slavs, following in the same direction took possession of the eastern settlements which the Germans had deserted. The regions between the lower waters of the Danube and the shores of the Aegean Sea were inhabited by the Thracians, an Indo-European people. The Thracians furnished a good part of the early population of Asia Minor. West of the Thracians in Europe lay the Macedonians, who may be regarded as the northernmost branch of the Hellenes, a stock originally settled in the neighborhood of Mount Olympus. Of the Illyrians, the inhabitants of the northwestern part of the Balkan peninsula we know little; perhaps the Veneti belong to this group. The Italians appear to have entered the Apennine peninsula from the north, the pile-villages on the Po being their earliest settlements.

The second grand division of the Indo-Europeans consists of the Iranians, or the ancient people of India and Persia. From the oldest Iranian sources we learn that the Old Persians were settled on the west bank of the Helmand in Afghanistan when a non-Aryan race held the opposite bank. To this corresponds the statement in the hymns of the Rigveda that the Indians entered their peninsula from the northwest. Probably both of these eastern branches came from the banks of the Jaxartes, either from Persia or from Asia Minor. The theory of the European origin of the Aryan race receives support also from the discovery at Koban in the Caucasus of numerous objects belonging to the Age of Bronze. A consideration of these leads to the inference that this was not a point of diffusion of culture, but on the contrary, that the articles were imported from the southwest. Thus the Caucasus cannot have been the cradle of the European peoples and of their culture.

The Caucasus finds are scarcely older than the last millenium B. C., but the separation between the great eastern and western sections of the Indo-European race must have taken place at least five thousand years before the Christian era. The population of the earth was then sparse, and our primitive ancestors were a semi-nomadic people, who roamed over the wide expanses of Europe from the Atlantic Ocean to the confines of Asia, sometimes in this direction sometimes in that. It is not

improbable, therefore, that all the periods in prehistoric civilization we have delineated should be properly ascribed to our Aryan forefathers. If we look still wider abroad,—to America, Hayti, New Zealand, and kindred regions,—and consider the relics there disclosed, we recognize the same technique in the working of stone, the same form of lances, arrow-heads, barbs, etc., that we observe in the corresponding objects of early Europe. There can, therefore, scarcely a doubt exist, that the people of these lands not only passed through the same stages of development, but are ultimately of the same stock with ourselves of these later days.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST HEROIC AGE.

FROM B. C. 115 UNTIL A. D. 213.

THE physical features and climate of Germany appeared terrible to the cultured Romans. On the south rose the Alps, rugged and gigantic and clad in perpetual snow. From their declivities glacier-fed torrents rushed down deep valleys. Long ranges of forest-clad hills branched northward far beyond what is now the river Main. Cleared places were rare; in every direction primeval forests stood undisturbed, and shrouded the land in constant gloom. The elk and urochs crushed through the thickets; the howl of the wolf made night hideous; while the keen-eyed lynx peered forth from his lurking-places.

To the north of this forest-clad upland region stretched the wide expanse of the North German lowlands, partly heath-covered moors and marshlands, partly desolate wastes. In primeval time this region had been covered with wood, but the land had subsided, and the forests been submerged. Only in what is now Westphalia and east of the Elbe had the forests survived. There they flourished amid luxuriant meadowlands and sparkling lakes. From the mouth of the Rhine to the coast of Jutland a girdle of white sand-dunes fringed the fenland; but the sea, in its constant alterations, ate into this dyke, and, in times of storm, burst through it, and overwhelmed all the country. An ancient legend tells how the goddess Gefion, with four giant-oxen, ploughed the island of Zealand adrift from Schonen in Sweden. In remote antiquity Scandinavia and Jutland, England, Scotland, Ireland, and France were all geographically united and on continuous territory. The Danish isles formed one land with those of Schleswig, and, as late as the Eleventh Century, Heligoland must have been at least four times its present size.

In these early days, forest and marsh rendered the atmosphere humid; the north and east winds brought frequent storms; while the meagre resources of the rude people availed little to mitigate the severities of the climate. Heavy rain-falls fed great rivers, all of which, with the exception of the Danube, flowed northward. The spring suns melted the snow and ice on their upper reaches earlier than on the lower, and the swollen streams finding no adequate outlet, and becoming gorged, poured over

their banks, and drowned the adjacent low country, thus extending the morasses and rendering the land ever drearier. Clouds and mists brooded almost constantly over all the region and over its inhabitants. Here and there the clouds break, and through the rents we perceive indistinct shadowy figures, which gradually gain in clearness and precision, till we see the fair-haired Germans standing in their strength before the awe-struck sons of the South.

The coasts of the North Sea and Baltic were especially inhospitable, yet here were the early seats of the Germanic race. In course of ages the population outgrew the means of subsistence, and fresh settlements had to be sought. The old traffic-routes led with hardly an exception toward the south. Thence, for a thousand years, had come their most esteemed wares, bearing mute testimony to a more generous clime, which was confirmed by the ready-tongued travelling merchants. Imagination, art, nature, all pointed in one direction. The Germans sallied forth in search of this happier land, and came first upon the Celts, and then upon the Romans.

The first to report anything of this people is Pytheas of Marseilles, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, who in a voyage on the North Sea, found the Goths—or, as modern scholarship will have it, the Teutons—settled on the west coast of Schleswig-Holstein. A hundred years later the Capitoline Fasti in Rome—or a later supplement—speaks of “the conquered Germans.” About 170 B. C. we find the Bastarnæ on the lower Danube, as confederates of the Macedonian Perseus. A much more important branch of the stock, the Cimbri, driven from their homes in Schleswig-Holstein by inundation and famine, had wandered into and through Bohemia, incorporating many Celtic elements, till, in 113 B. C., they approached the passes of the Alps. They came thus within the domain of the Romans, who held all the country between this Italian bulwark and the Danube in a state of semi-dependence. Here they were met by the consul Papirius Carbo, who in answer to their demand for a place wherein to settle, furnished them with guides, ostensibly to conduct them thither. The treacherous guides led them into an ambuscade near Noreia, where the Romans fell upon them. The legions were repulsed with great loss. This battle is a type of all the conflicts during a hundred years of struggle. Craft, strategic skill, the resources of a great state, on the one side; on the other, only the fearless, uncalculating devotedness, and the untrained strength of the children of nature. It was a strange horde that thus suddenly drew all eyes to itself. Stalwart, rugged figures, fair-haired and blue-eyed, they marched ever ready for battle, carrying their wives and children and household goods along with

them. Their chiefs, elected by popular voice, were the stateliest and bravest men of the tribe. Gray-haired women, in white raiment, officiated as priestesses, and foretold the future from the blood of their captives.

Yet, fearless as they were, the Cimbrians seem to have realized, instinctively, that Roman territory offered no abiding-place for them. They crossed the Rhine and entered Gaul, where they found and formed a union with a kindred tribe, the Teutones. Here, too, they found no resting-place. The Celts withstood them in fortified towns, the Roman legionaries assailed them in the field. They defeated Marcus Junius Silanus's and three other armies one after the other, so that the Romans computed their losses at 100,000 men. The Roman Republic was torn by factions; but the "Cimbrian Terror" caused every face to blanch, and extraordinary measures seemed to be demanded. All the while the homeless people were wandering in search of an abiding-place. Tired out with fruitless sieges, the Cimbrians streamed again southward, and crossed the Pyrenees into Spain. Here, too, they found no place of rest. After two years of conflict, they re-entered Gaul and reunited themselves with the Teutones near Rouen. Here, the Belgae offered a successful resistance, and the now multifarious tribes bent their course once more towards the south, in the hope of finding in Italy the seats they longed for. With the view of making a simultaneous attack at two different points, the Cimbri crossed the Eastern Alps, while the Teutones, following the course of the Rhine, made for the Maritime Alps.

The Romans had not misused the interval since their defeats, and in Caius Marius they sent a man to meet the threatening hordes, such as the emergency called for. He re-established Roman authority in Southern Gaul, reinforced his army, and animated it to renew the struggle. By means of a fortified camp he barred the direct route to the Teutones, and, when they, leaving the camp on one side, continued their advance, he followed close on their footsteps. A bloody fight took place near *Aquæ Sextiæ*, in which superiority in position, generalship, and equipment gained the day over undisciplined valor. The Teutones were mercilessly hewn down. Even the women fell fighting among the baggage-wagons, and those taken captive died by their own hand.

The Cimbri, in the meantime, had pressed over the Brenner Pass, and brought all the country between the Alps and the Po under their sway. In fancied security they gave themselves up to the enjoyment of hitherto unknown luxuries. In the spring of 101 B. C., however, Marius led his victorious and reinforced legions against them. In the gray mist of morning the strong Roman cavalry force struck the surprised horsemen of the Germans on the *Campi Raudii*, not far from *Vercellæ*, and drove

them back on their infantry. The footmen, thus thrown into disorder, were assailed by the legionaries, and the whole host was all but annihilated. The desperate remnant kept up a hopeless fight round the baggage-wagons. One hundred and forty thousand Germans were slain, and sixty thousand taken prisoners. All of that great host, which, like an avalanche, had, for thirteen years, threatened Rome and Gaul, now lay under the sod or groaned in hopeless servitude.

Still the flaxen-haired sons of the forest poured in ever-broadening masses toward the south and southwest, and in many a bloody fight slaughtered or subdued the native Celts. The Lower Danube was passed, and daring bands ventured to cross the Upper Rhine. The Celts of Gaul had lost their political stability. Roman and Greek culture had all but destroyed their native individuality. A busy city-life had developed itself without adequate institutions or system of government, and growing extravagance had brought general indebtedness. District strove against district, each trying to advance itself at the cost of its neighbor, while kings and a new-born aristocracy contended for mastery over a degraded people. The race was no longer able to offer enduring resistance to the invading Germans. The fate that had befallen their brethren east of the Rhine threatened them. Their new master seemed to have appeared in the person of Ariovistus, the leader of the German hosts. This warrior-chief had fixed himself firmly on the banks of the Saône, where he was constantly reinforced by the arrival of new bands. The Celts became daily more dependent on him. His influence and his schemes stretched out ever wider, while from Rome they received neither check nor hindrance.



FIGS. 25, 26.—Silver Denarius of Julius Caesar. Obverse: Coin portrait of Julius Caesar. —Reverse: A trophy of Gallic weapons; two spears, a shield, trumpets, the *musculi* of which are animals with open jaws. The helmet has horns, and the torques hangs about the neck. In the exergue, CAESAR. (Berlin.) (After Imhoof-Blumer.)

Gaul's new ruler, Caius Julius Caesar (Figs. 25, 26), entered Narbonne Gaul in 58 B. C., and immediately all was changed. In eight years he accomplished for himself all that the Germans had been striving after for themselves. Ariovistus was slain near Belfort, Gaul subdued, the Celts, as a nation, annihilated, and the Rhine made the boundary of the Empire.

Caesar showed he possessed the keen vision and genius of a conqueror, in that he understood not only where to strike the Germans in their weakest point, but also how to turn them to account for his own and Rome's advantage. When, in the great uprising under Vercingetorix in 52 B. C., the confederated Celtic horsemen pressed hard on his legions, it was German cavalry that rode down the exultant Celts, and brought victory to the Roman eagles. This achievement is rendered the more interesting from the fact that it is the first taken notice of by history as showing the high qualities of the German horsemen. A body of these now accompanied Caesar on all his expeditions. It is told that before the battle of Pharsalia this rough soldiery made themselves a laughing-stock to the legionaries by their deep potations of sweet but fiery Greek wines; when, however, it came to blows, they hewed so deeply into Pompey's better equipped squadrons that Caesar's decisive victory was, in great measure, ascribed to them.

The German stream ceased to flow toward Gaul, and the Germans already there either submitted to Rome or retired beyond the Rhine. Instead of the Germans, the Romans more and more assumed the offensive. Caesar initiated this change by two advances over the Rhine: in 57 B. C., he constructed a bridge on piles, probably between Andernach and Coblenz, and marched his army across it (Fig. 27). The Sigambri, settled on the right bank, eluded his attack by taking to the woods; while the tribe of the Suevi (?), assembling all its men able to bear arms, awaited his onset in the interior. Caesar had neither time nor inclination to let himself be involved in complications on this bank. His object—that, namely, of reconnoitering and of alarming the Germans—was attained, and, after eighteen days' sojourn, he retired across the river, breaking this bridge. Four years later he again crossed, this time more toward the south. The Suevi had recourse to their previous tactics, and an attempt to starve them into submission having miscarried, he recrossed and returned to Rome. The Germans now realized that the Rhine did not avail to stay the flight of the Roman eagle, and that it was perilous to provoke it. Unallured, therefore, by the opportunity offered by the Roman civil wars, they ceased from molesting Gaul.

When Caesar penetrated the gloom of the German forest, all the land, even to the Danube, was held by Germanic tribes. The Lower Rhine up to the Lahn was occupied by the Usipetes, the Tencteri, the Sigambri, and the Ubii. Behind them the great confederation of the Suevi were settled as conquerors on the old Celtic country extending to the Upper Rhine, strong enough, by virtue of their politico-military organization, to check the advance of the northern tribes. Among the

northern tribes the most powerful was that of the Cherusci, occupying the region of the Harz, between the Elbe and Westphalia, and fends

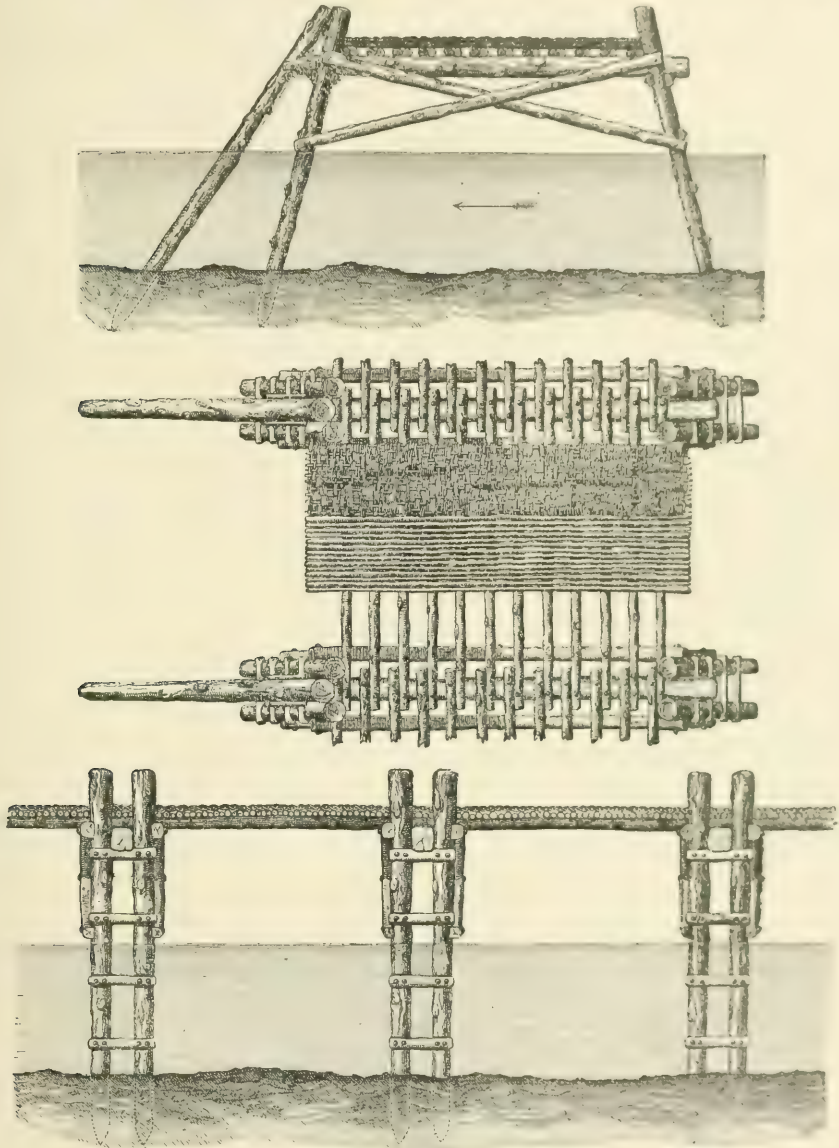


FIG. 27.—Caesar's bridge across the Rhine : constructed of piles.

were frequent between this tribe and the Suevi, as well as between the latter and the Rhenish group.

The Germans were little skilled in agriculture, and recognized no right of private property in land. The tribes had no supreme chiefs, only a headman for each district, who administered justice and was charged with the yearly allotment of the land amongst the several kin-alliances or septs of the tribe. For the sake of fresh soil and pasture the location of the villages was frequently changed, so that the people were almost nomadic. Priesthood was not so fully developed as among the Gauls, and a nobility was almost, or altogether, unknown. Hospitality was a sacred duty, and chastity was held in high honor. Cattle-rearing, hunting, and raids supplemented the scanty produce of their fields. A leader was chosen for their forays, to whom volunteers plighted their faith. Among the Suevi a semi-constitutional polity had already developed itself. Their country was divided into 100 districts, each bound to furnish yearly 1000 armed soldiers. The rest remained at home to provide subsistence for all. At the end of the year the army was disbanded, and a fresh levy made.

After Caesar's passage of the Rhine, the land had rest for a time. The people had come to know Rome's strength and to respect it. Their sons served in her armies, and the emperor surrounded himself with them as a body-guard. Marbod and Arminius, destined to be Rome's most dangerous foes, were trained in this school. Change of circumstances brought change of relations. Two-thirds of the Roman armies were stationed in Gaul by the Emperor Augustus: Gaul was divided up for purposes of taxation and administration, and became thoroughly Romanized, with Lyons as its principal city. The standing camps on the Rhine—Basel, Mayence, Cologne, and Xanten—rose to importance, and an attack on Gaul was a menace to the Empire.

Matters were precipitated by the Sigambri in 16 B. C. With their confederate tribes they crossed the Rhine, ravaged the country, defeated the imperial legate, M. Lollius, and captured the eagle of the fifth legion—the first of the trophies taken by Germans. It became evident that there could be no security for either Gaul or Italy till this source of danger was thoroughly dealt with, and the German frontiers made Roman territory.

In a double attack from Gaul and Italy, the numerous little tribes of Switzerland, the Tyrol, and a part of South Germany, were subdued, the captured lands settled by colonists, and secured by military roads and strongholds. Augsburg was probably erected, at this time, into a sort of arsenal. Two provinces, Rhaetia and Noricum, and, soon thereafter, Pannonia and Moesia, were won, and the Danube became the northern boundary of the Empire. The centre of the Ger-

man power could now be assailed simultaneously from south and west.

The line of conquest was still further advanced. In the year 12 B. C., Drusus, stepson of the Emperor, excavated a great canal joining the Rhine with the German Ocean. The countries adjoining the canal were thus laid open, and, as far as the mouth of the Weser, brought more or less

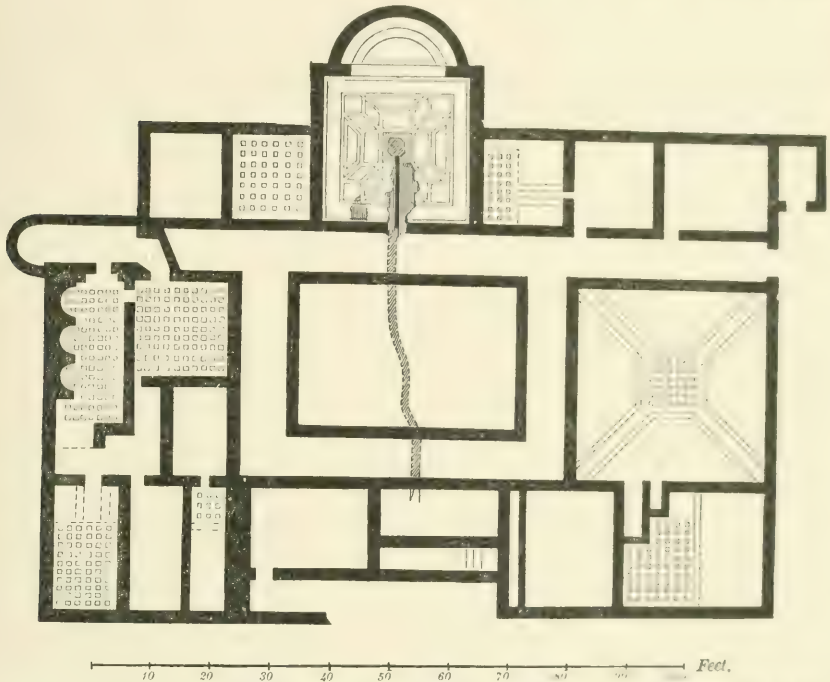


FIG. 28.—Roman villa at Westenhofen, near Ingolstadt; discovered in 1856. Ground plan.

into subjection. The great rivers gave access to ships far into the interior. With the North subdued, South Germany, assailed on all sides, could offer no enduring resistance. The Rhine afforded Rome a secure basis for operations. The forts on the left bank were strengthened and their garrisons reinforced; and here and there, castles arose on the right bank. (Cf. Fig. 28.) The lack of union among the German tribes gave Rome a great advantage.

In the year 11 B. C., Drusus delivered his first assault, directed against the Sigambri on the Ruhr and the Lippe. After several successes, he pressed forward into the country of the Cherusci as far as the Weser. Here, failure of supplies and the commotion of the tribes in his rear compelled him to turn back, and it was with heavy sacrifices that he

fought his way to his base. But this indefatigable man let nothing deter him (Fig. 29). Next year he overpowered the Chatti, and, in the following



FIG. 29.—Silver coin of the elder Drusus. Germanic weapons: a *veridium* shield, spears, and trumpets. (Berlin.)

year (9 B. C.), made a still farther advance. Sweeping all before him, he, for a second time, reached the Weser, crossed it, and gained the Elbe. An attempt on its farther bank miscarried. Legends have it that a gray-haired woman, of size greater than human, waved the conqueror backward, and warned him of his approaching fate. A fall from his horse on his homeward march cost him his life. All his operations were supported by fleets sailing inland from the coast. Augustus, in his *Monu-*

mentum Inexpugnabile, boasts that his ships had penetrated regions hitherto unvisited. In point of fact, they reached the north point of Jutland.

Tiberius (Fig. 30), a man less brilliant and adventurous, but more calculating and hence more successful in the results gained than his brother Drusus, succeeded him in the command. He avoided great battles, and effected more by policy than by war, thus accomplishing that in which his brother had been only partially successful—namely, the reduction of Germany to a Roman province. Forts arose in the interior garrisoned by Roman troops; men of influence were attached to Rome's interest; tribes were won over by the mere display of superior force, and whole districts were brought to acknowledge the rule of Rome. The country was subdivided and organized for military and political ends with Xanten (near Düsseldorf) and Mayence as chief military centres. The right bank of the Rhine was occupied; part of the Sigambri and Suevi were transferred to Gaul; other tribes pressed farther into the interior; two high-roads were built—one on either side of the river—with forts at the end of each day's march, while Roman outposts observed all the region from the Weser to the Elbe. In winter, the main body of the legions quar-

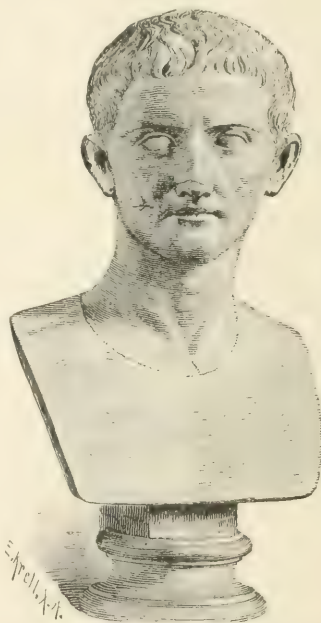


FIG. 30.—Tiberius. Antique bust in the Vatican, Rome. From a photograph.

tered on the Rhine; in summer, usually at Aliso, which probably lay on the upper waters of the Lippe.

The complete reduction of the country was accomplished in the years 6 and 5 B. C., by a combined movement on the Elbe, in which a fleet co-operated with the foot and mounted forces which marched overland. This river now became the boundary of the Empire on the east. As Tiberius stood on its bank, a stately old man, arrayed in princely robes, rowed toward him. Regarding him for a while in silence, he at length burst forth: "Our young men are mad! They reverence you, dread your weapons, and yet withstand you. I, to-day, have seen a divinity." He touched the general's hand, re-entered his boat, and rowed off toward the opposite bank, where stood the yet unconquered tribes, the last dependence of the country. The Germans were dazzled and intoxicated by the splendor of Rome's military display.

Another circumstance seemed to favor the Romans. In the great Suevian confederation an exodus had taken place, similar to that of Caesar's time. Threatened by Rome on all sides, a large section of the border tribes had evacuated their imperilled settlements, and betaken themselves to the natural stronghold of Bohemia. The originator of this masterly movement was Marbod of the tribe of the Marcomanni, whence this tribe-name was applied to all the new confederation. The historian Velleius depicts Marbod (Maroboduus) as a man of strong character and passion and of great bodily strength, who was a barbarian rather by virtue of his birth, than of his culture; while the old German Edda tells us he held it as honorable to defeat his enemy by wile as by stroke of sword. He had learned in the Roman court the advantages offered by absolute power for military purposes, and, like Ariovistus, strove to establish himself as monarch. The separation of his people from their ancient seats, the institution of the annual military levy, and the danger of being surrounded by the Romans, all favored his design, so that he soon had absolute control of an army of 70,000 footmen and 4000 cavalry. He took at once a commanding attitude toward his neighbors, and, by conquest, treaties, or patronage, bent them to his will. He thus acquired a friendly frontier. In Marbod we see the first founder of a German state and the first German king.

The hitherto independent tribes, and especially the Cherusci, the hereditary foes of the Suevi, did not regard the development of a strong Marcomannian kingdom without alarm. It tended to draw them toward the Romans. The same enemy menaced both.

Such a military power wedged into and intrenched in what Rome regarded as its territory, just when all Germany seemed about to sub-

mit to its sway and accept its culture, could not be endured. Three legions had remained, during the year 6 B. C., in the North to watch for any demonstration of national consciousness. There, the danger seemed past, and they could be utilized elsewhere. It was determined, therefore, to crush Marbod by a combined attack. Tiberius was to advance against him with a powerful force, from the Danube, while Sentius Saturninus moved on him from the Rhine. A junction was to be formed in the very heart of the Marcomannian state. When within five days of their destination, news reached Tiberius of a revolt of the Pannonians in his rear. So urgent was the emergency that, sacrificing glory to necessity, he closed a treaty with Marbod. The Marcomannian state was saved. Without stroke of sword Marbod had attained what he could scarcely have hoped to gain after many bloody victories.

When Pannonia was reduced after a three-years' campaign, Tiberius led his veteran legionaries back to the Danube. Germany was now essentially a Roman province, and there seemed every reason for believing it would be soon as thoroughly Romanized as Gaul. It was, therefore, soon occupied by a comparatively weak, and, largely, a newly levied, force. A new civilization was dawning. People began to house themselves in comfortable dwellings; Roman markets were established, and traffic developed itself; the roads leading from Xanten to Aliso were prolonged to the Weser; even Roman altars were erected here and there, with Germans officiating as priests; and the right of Roman citizenship was conferred on the natives. The man deputed to complete this peaceful subjugation was Quintilius Varus, a scion of the Imperial house, a corpulent, ease-loving patrician, at once pompous and covetous, and altogether incapable of justly appreciating men or circumstances. He believed that the best expedient for destroying German nationality was the introduction and rigid enforcement of the Roman law and constitution. Forms were employed the natives could not comprehend, and proceedings conducted in a language they did not understand. Men began to realize that a foreign yoke had been imposed on them, and this at a time when the glory of the Roman arms was beginning to pale, and the German youth returning from the battlefields of Pannonia were telling how a people could die for their country. A secret ferment began to work, and circumstances accelerated its action. The treaty with Marbod had only for its object to prevent him from lending support to the revolted Pannonians. The Cherusci, however, who in exceptionally large numbers had followed the eagles to Pannonia, regarded this alliance with their enemy as an injury to themselves. It was reserved for one of this tribe—Arminius (Hermann)—to fan the embers of discontent into a flame.

This man—probably named after the national war-god—was of noble Cheruscan origin, and now about twenty-six years of age. He had served in the Roman army, had risen to be prefect of a cohort, and was not only a Roman citizen, but a knight. Brave, of prompt decision, keen intellect, and eagle eye, he belonged to the class who inspire confidence—sometimes a blind and false confidence. It is to this last trait that we must ascribe Varus's unwarrantable feeling of security, which led to results so disastrous to the Roman arms.

Arminius had studied the cold, selfish policy of Rome, had seen that its empire was based on down-trodden nationalities, and knew that the Cherusci, in their turn, were marked for subjugation. He therefore willingly became head of a conspiracy, and, in deepest secrecy, collected around him men from his own and kindred tribes similarly-minded with himself. Some of his tribe, however, remained friendly to Rome; and Segestes, one of the chiefs, again and again warned the Roman ruler of his danger; but in vain.

A rising took place in a remote district. Varus decided to repress it in person, but weakened his three legions by leaving garrisons behind him. He began his advance in autumn, and was soon where the conspirators wished him to be. The pent-up fury of the people burst forth like a torrent, carrying all with it. Even the son of Segestes, a priest at Cologne, tore off his robes and hurried to join the patriots. The struggle began, and Varus blindly dismissed the chiefs around him to summon aid. He only increased the number of his foes. The legions were surrounded,¹ and for three long days they fought, hand to hand, in the vain endeavor to cut their way through to the fortress of Aliso. The elements, the land, and the people seemed in concert to destroy them. Nearly every man was slaughtered or taken captive. Varus, in despair, died by his own hand. Tradition hands down another account of this battle, according to which Varus was surprised by the Germans when sitting in court, having neglected necessary precautions. Only some cohorts managed to escape. This battle marks a crisis in human affairs: the advance of

¹ Opinions differ as to the scene of the battle. According to Mommsen the catastrophe occurred on the march from the summer-camp on the Weser to winter-quarters on the Rhine. By a report of the revolt of "a remote tribe," the confederate Germans drew the Roman general from the military road northwestward into the district of the Hunte or the Ems. The rising ensued. Varus endeavored to regain the road. On the first day he constructed a perfect camp for three legions; on the second, driven by necessity, an insufficiently protected one; on the third day, the army was hewn to pieces. The place where this occurred is the great Venner Marsh, northeast from Osnabrück, between the Hunte and the Hase. It is traversed by but one path passing the peasant-hamlet of Barenau. For many years Roman coins have been found here, dating back to nearly the beginning of our era, which might have been relics of the battle.

Rome is checked; independent Germany becomes a mighty factor in the history of mankind.

The very unexpectedness of the catastrophe caused it to be exaggerated on the Tiber. Men feared that all Germany would rise, overrun Gaul, probably draw Marbod with it, and threaten Italy. Nothing of all this occurred. The flame did, indeed, spread wider and wider through the forest-clad hill region; everywhere here the people arose and destroyed Roman settlements, forts, and camps; but the fire died out on the Rhine, which the legate, Lucius Asprenas, had covered with his legions. The movement was distinctively Germanic and confined itself to Germany.

Circumstances had changed at Rome. Augustus Caesar was now old; and his empire Rome had lost the energy of its younger days. The people recoiled before difficulties, only to increase them. Troops were lacking for an immediate advance on Germany, and Augustus himself was, at no time, specially enterprising. Thus this "World-Empire," accustomed ever to press forward, now took a step backward; hesitatingly, indeed, at first almost unconsciously—yet, not the less, the step was taken. The Elbe was no longer its eastern boundary, but the Rhine; this river and the Danube constituting henceforth its frontier-lines. The later advances over these lines were not so much for conquest as for the re-establishment of military prestige. Such an advance was made by Tiberius in the following year, and little skirmishes took place. Much more important were the campaigns of Germanicus, son of Drusus.

On the death of Augustus and the accession of Tiberius, A. D. 14, mutinies broke out on the Danube and Rhine. The appearance of the younger Drusus (simultaneously with an eclipse of the moon) put an end to the trouble on the Danube; while, on the Rhine, the popularity and capacity of Germanicus carried him over all difficulties. He judged it necessary to keep the mutineers busy, and his first blow struck the Bructeri and Marsi, whom he surprised at a great sacrificial festival and mercilessly slaughtered. Next spring he fell upon and shattered the Chatti on the Eder. For these successes he was indebted largely to the valor of his veterans and his own rapidity of movement, but, not less, to the peculiar circumstances of Germany.

In the first fire of enthusiasm, the Germans had striven for one common end, and acted, to a certain extent, in concert. Arminius had sent the head of Varus to Marbod, as an intimation of his victory, and as a token of friendship. But when the land cleared itself of foes, internal dissensions began to arise. Tribes fell apart and strove with each other.

Adherents of Rome began to make their appearance, and, most prominently of all, among the Cherusei, Arminius's own tribe. Now, his own brother Flavus was yet in the imperial service, while his rival, Segestes, worked against him at home. When Arminius carried off Thusnelda, the proud daughter of Segestes, and forcibly married her, political hostility became embittered by personal animosity. It came to open conflict in the field, in which sometimes Arminius, and sometimes Segestes was victor. To strike a blow at his enemy's heart, Segestes got his daughter once more in his power, and when her husband besieged him, called on Germanicus for aid. His messengers found Germanicus on his march from the overthrow of the Chatti. He turned back and raised the siege. Thusnelda was the price paid for his help. Without a tear, without a prayer, she stood with her hands folded over her breast, looking down on her womb, which carried the burden of her love. She was carried away, and in captivity gave birth to a son. The shameful fate of being led through the streets of Rome to grace the triumph of Germanicus was reserved for the wife and child of the liberator of his country. Their fate was not without profit. Conjoined with the cruel onslaughts on the Marsi and Chatti, it aroused the warlike spirit of the people and gave to the foes of Rome complete ascendancy. This the young Caesar realized to his cost when, in A. D. 18, he undertook his next campaign.

The legate Caccina led forty cohorts to the Ems, while Germanicus himself, availing himself of his father's canal, advanced by ship from the north. The united forces penetrated inland as far as the field of Varus's defeat, where the bones of the dead lay bleaching. These they interred, and then renewed their march to meet the main force of the Germans under Arminius. A fight ensued which was all but a defeat for the Romans, and they turned back. Germanicus betook himself again to his ships, while Caccina marched overland. In the morasses between the Ems and the Weser, he was environed by the Germans, and, but for a premature attempt on his camp, made against the counsel of Arminius, would have been overwhelmed.

The war assumed greater proportions; larger masses came into the field on both sides. Germanicus entered more and more into his father's schemes of conquest. In A. D. 16, he embarked an army of 80,000 to 100,000 men, on board 1000 ships. Sailing up the Ems, he landed on its banks, whence, marching overland, he reached a river which Tacitus calls the Weser, but which must have been the Hunte or the Hase. On the farther side stood an embattled host of various tribes, the Cherusei being led by Arminius and Inguiomer. A body of Roman cavalry, sent across to reconnoitre, having met with stout resistance, Germanicus

retired his camp further from the stream. An attack on this, again made against the counsel of Arminius, was repulsed; and in a few days thereafter followed the hard-fought battle on the field of Idistaviso (the "Elves' meadow" or "Burned forest"), which terminated favorably for Rome. Arminius was wounded and narrowly escaped.

The Germans were defeated, but not dispirited. Strengthened by strong reinforcements, they were, in a short time, in a position to essay a new passage at arms at the so-called Angrivarian Wall, probably in Lippe-Detmold. Long the scales hung in the balance in this fight, but again they turned in favor of the legionaries. Germanicus carried off another of the victories that he dreaded rather than desired. He erected a second trophy, sent one part of his army into winter-quarters, and embarked the other on the Ems. The fleet was much shattered by storms, and but for the friendliness of the natives, every soul would have perished.

No campaign of equal magnitude and with such resources had ever been undertaken against the Germans. The battles were the most important since the days of Marius, and yet North Germany remained unsubdued, while the loss in troops and material was to Rome nearly irremediable. Yet Germanicus remained undeterred, and cherished the hope of next year standing where his father once stood on the Elbe. In the midst of his dreams he was recalled by the emperor. Jealousy may have been the motive for the recall, but it is known that Tiberius was dissatisfied with the manner in which the war was conducted. It demanded the most frightful sacrifices, and yet seemed ever to be on the brink of an abyss. He saw that the increased strength of the Romans



FIG. 31.—The triumph of Germanicus over the Cherusci, Chatti, and Angrivarii, A. D. 17. Copper coin. Obv.: Germanicus in a triumphal chariot. Rev.: Germanicus, with a legionary eagle in his left hand, addressing his army. The *SIGNIS RECEPTIS* ("standards recovered") refers to the eagles lost at the defeat of Varus, but recovered by Germanicus. *S. C.* = *Senatus consultum*, "by decree of the Senate."

evoked only greater energy on the part of the Germans. The more determinedly the legionaries pressed onward, the more formidable became Arminius. He, like Marbod, might at any time convert his dictator-

ship into a monarchy, which might not prove so friendly to Rome as that of the Marcomannian. Reflections such as these agitated the mind of Tiberius and led him to regard the "most glorious exploits" of Germanicus as of little value (Fig. 31). Other considerations strengthened his doubts. The maintenance of the Elbe frontier demanded a second great army, since the Rhine could not be left unguarded. But Rome had no such reserve of men at her disposal and could not afford to supply them. Besides, the policy of Tiberius was rather to consolidate the Empire than to extend it; that of Germanicus was aggrandizement. It even seemed as if the latter had involved the state in this war for personal ends. The mere possibility of such a war assured him of his position as Crown-prince and his office of Proconsul and Commander-in-chief on the Rhine.

The cessation of hostilities in A. D. 17 put an end to a war which had kept two lands in hostile relations for a century and a half. A new era of industry and civilization now dawned for Germany. Among them—scarcely yet a sedentary people—the germs of monarchy had become half developed through the exigencies of the last two wars. This unsettled transition-state led to strife and disunion. Tiberius, who had expected this result, left them to their differences, for thus they were no longer a menace to Rome, and injured only themselves.

Dissensions first appeared among the Cherusci. When Arminius lay wounded, his uncle Inguiomer commanded the tribe in the last battle with Germanicus. He made pretensions accordingly, which Arminius stoutly resisted, and, through his popularity, with success. Inguiomer, in disgust, betook himself, with his followers, to Marbod.

This prince had constantly maintained a policy of expectation. While consolidating his state internally, he had quietly extended his kingdom down the Elbe, depending on his military strength, and a policy moulded after that of Rome. The Northern tribes, on the other hand, had no fixed rulers, or settled system of government. The chiefs differed as essentially as the people. Marbod was an organizer of state and of army, deliberate in action; Arminius, a popular leader and patriot, kindling the hearts of men by his winning personality and by his strength of character. The people were divided between these two men and their systems. The Langobardi and the Semnones deserted the more stringent confederation for the freer. A stubborn fight ensued between the two great chiefs on the confines of Bohemia; though this was not decisive, Marbod retired, and ultimately asked help from Rome. His authority once shaken, his followers deserted him in increasing numbers. At length Catwalda, a subordinate chief whom he had exiled, conquered

and deposed him. Received into shelter by the Romans, he was assigned the same place of residence—Ravenna—as that in which the wife and son of his great rival had wept out their lives. The main body of his followers left Bohemia, and settled, under Roman protection, on the Danube opposite modern Vienna. There, by various additions, they grew into the tribe of the Quadi. Catwalda's supremacy was of short duration. A revolt broke out, and he too ended his days fed by Roman bounty.

The career of the Cherusci, also, neared its end. When Rome ceased to assail them, the necessity for close union under the strong hand of a supreme commander passed away, and Arminius's authority lost the foundation on which it rested. Jealousy, mistrust, mutual aversion, and a longing for freedom from restraint came all once more into operation. Arminius, after a dictatorship of twelve years, and in the thirty-seventh year of his age, fell under the swords of his own kinsmen (A. D. 21). The greatest of the historians of Rome has named him the "Liberator of the Germans," whose fortune in battle, indeed, varied, but who remained unconquered. For long years, thereafter, the fame of this great warrior resounded in the ballads of Germany; but he met an inglorious death, and with him sank into oblivion the might of the tribe of the Cherusci, of which he was the greatest son.

CHAPTER IV.

DEFENCE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND FREE GERMANY.

(FROM A. D. 21 TO A. D. 165.)

THE first heroic age of the German race lies buried in the grave of Arminius. After him followed a period in which great, or even strongly-defined, characters are rare. We have now a time of internal effort and development, wherein "the Fatherland," so long defended in glorious struggle, was maturing and strengthening herself, to overrun, at a later day, the empire of the Caesars.

Tiberius knew he could safely leave the Germans to their own feuds. How little he dreaded them he showed by the reduction of the armies in Gaul and on the east frontier. Gaul was divided into three provinces. The country on the left bank of the Rhine constituted two of these, with the streamlet Vinxtbach, at the southern extremity of Lake Constance as their boundary; each was subject to a military officer and a consular pro-practor, resident respectively at Mayence and Xanten (*Castra Vetera*). Civil settlements became intermixed with the numerous military colonies along the Rhine, and Roman culture and customs became more and more naturalized. With eight legions, of some 60,000 or 80,000 men, were associated many German cohorts, and these contributed to spread the seeds of civilization among their countrymen. Roman influence thus passed over to the right bank of the Rhine and there created a neutral zone. The Danube frontier, on the other hand, remained far behind; though, there also, the germs of culture began to appear.

Roman influence was especially powerful on the German west coast, where the Frisians had long been subject to Rome. A change came in A.D. 29. Excessive exactions drove them to revolt, and by courage and perseverance they gained their freedom and maintained it for twenty years. Their neighbors, the Chauci, too, seem to have availed themselves of the withdrawal of the Roman troops and the recall of Germanicus. Some decades later, we find them free, and, in their light ships, making predatory descents on the coast of Gaul.

It was where native German strength was most concentrated—namely, among the Cherusci—that internal feuds raged most fiercely. In these feuds the house of Arminius perished, and the tribe was reduced

to insignificance. It fared no better with the Suevi. Vannius, a king set over them by the Romans, was overthrown, and had to take refuge on board the imperial fleet on the Danube. With these internal conflicts, alternated predatory incursions into Gaul. Some of these inroads did not pass unavenged. The Amsivarii, who had crossed the Rhine in search of a new home, were driven forth by the Romans, and roamed miserably through the forests till they died out as a separate tribe.

Meanwhile there streamed toward the Roman eagles ever greater numbers of the sturdy sons of Germany (PLATE X.). Military pride easily associates itself with soldierly spirit, and these auxiliaries, who were often called on to strike the decisive blow, felt it an indignity that they should be styled barbarians, and regarded with contempt by the

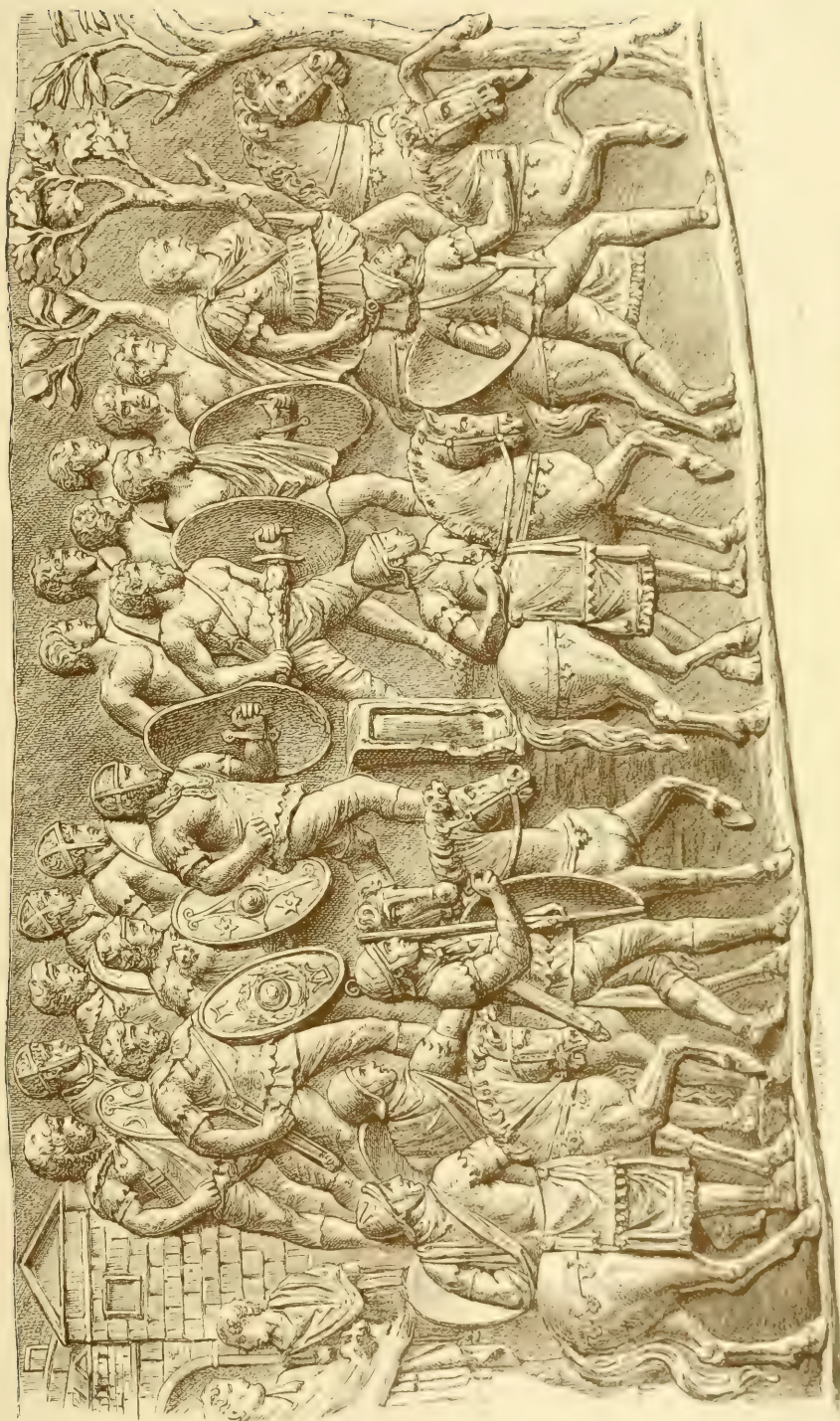


FIG. 32.—Battle scene from the Column of Marcus Aurelius in Rome. (After Bartoli-Bellorius.) This column, modelled after that of Trajan, celebrated the victories of Marcus Aurelius in his wars with the Marcomanni (176 A. D.). On the strip of reliefs which winds like a spiral around the column are represented scenes not only of war but also of domestic manners and customs. Here, as on Trajan's column, we see Germans, bare to the waist, fighting with shield and spears against the Roman auxiliary troops who are armed with bows.

regular soldiers of the Roman legion. In the stormy times of the extinction of the Julian dynasty, these Germans came prominently to the foreground; in the Batavian uprising, which, from A. D. 69 to 71, kept Gaul in commotion, they even became a menace to the Empire.

The Rhenish legions set up Vitellius as anti-Caesar, and his generals hurried them forthwith into Italy. Even while on the march, the rivalry between the legionaries and auxiliaries was strongly manifested. The decisive battle of Bedriacum was won for Vitellius by the Germans, who thus virtually conquered Italy. The greater part of the auxiliaries were

PLATE X.



Trajan's Germanic Body-guard. From the Column of Trajan, in Rome.

(From Földner.)



ordered back to the Rhine, but the bonds of discipline had become so relaxed, and the spirit of mutiny so unbridled, that it came to open battle between them and the legionaries at Turin. The auxiliaries disbanded, and, far and wide, these wild Germans swept through the beautiful land, ravaging and plundering. (Cf. Fig. 32.) The threatening clouds gathering in the far East, where Vespasian had been proclaimed emperor, not only detained the troops in Italy, but necessitated fresh reinforcements from the Rhine. There the officers filled up the ranks of their army by levies on the Germans and Celts. This was felt with peculiar severity by the Batavi, an offshoot from the Chatti, who had settled on the left bank of the lower Rhine. They were annexed to the Empire, but remained exempt from taxes, on condition of furnishing an extra number of recruits. The Batavian contingent was the flower of the army, and served under its own native chiefs, everywhere throughout the Empire. They had won many battles for the Romans, and yet, like other auxiliaries, they were regarded with contempt by the legionaries. This position of inferiority caused much dissatisfaction among the Batavi. Immediately after their revolt at Turin, the Batavian cohorts turned homeward, where they were to find in their countryman, Julius Civilis, a man to aid them in avenging their wrongs.

Civilis had been for nearly thirty years an officer in the Roman service, and had, like his brethren, returned home embittered and eager for



FIG. 33.—From the Column of Marcus Aurelius. German slingers issuing from a forest. (Bartoli-Bellorius.)

action. The oppressive levies of troops having roused a general feeling of discontent in the tribe, he set on foot a conspiracy. The neighboring Caninifates, whom he had taken into his confidence, began the revolt, and carrying the Frisians along with them, stormed a Roman camp (Fig. 33). Civilis put himself at the head of the rising, and called on the Gauls to join him. They flocked in crowds to his standard; while the voice of the prophetess, Veleda, sounding on the other side of the Rhine, largely augmented his German following. The formidable Batavian cohorts joined him, and formed the core of his army. Several successes were gained, and the Roman officers lost their heads in the face of a danger

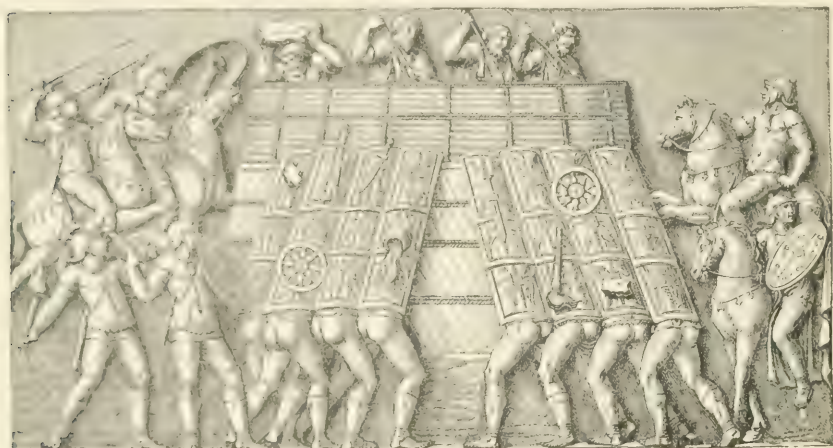


FIG. 34.—From the Column of Marcus Aurelius. (Bartoli-Bellorius.) Attack of a German fortress. The Romans advance with shields protecting their heads and backs (the *testudo*); the Germans seek to repel them with stones and javelins. Romans with torches strive to set on fire the breastwork of the Germans, which is constructed of logs and branches interlaced.

ever assuming larger proportions. One man—Vocula—remained cool and resolute, and, drawing out the best of the troops from Xanten, attempted to stem the movement. He assailed Civilis, but without success. The retreat discouraged his men, and, his army dissolved, Vocula with difficulty reached Mayence with but a fragment of his force. The news of the burning of the Capitol in Rome added fresh fuel to the flame. New Gallic tribes joined the insurgents, and the hope of founding an independent Gallic Kingdom began to dawn. Vocula was defeated a second time (Fig. 34); Cologne, Mayence, and Xanten fell in succession; and the legionaries—probably, for the most part, Gauls—came over almost in a body.

Victory often carries with it the seeds of defeat. When it came to securing the fruits of these successes, divided counsels and confusion prevailed. On the one side stood Civilis with his German followers; on the other, the Romano-Celtic elements, constituting the so-called "Gallie Kingdom." The Germans had no faith in the Celts; the Celts, none in each other. The one thing that could have saved them—a rising of all Gaul—failed to take place, and this failure enabled Rome to proceed to the reconquest of what she had lost.

Vespasian, now acknowledged as emperor, forthwith concentrated the military strength of the Empire. The legions were recalled from Italy, Spain, and Britain. The Gauls were readily brought to submission. Only with the Batavians and their German allies was there serious difficulty. At Treves the Roman army would have been defeated but for the resolution of one man—Petilius Cerealis. Mayence, Cologne, and Xanten were recaptured, and the war was carried to the marshes of the lower Rhine. Civilis remained obstinately in the field till he saw that his tribesmen had fallen under the influence of Cerealis. Terms of reconciliation were agreed upon at a conference on a bridge over the Nabalia; and the scheme to destroy the Empire north of the Alps by the co-operation of Germans and Gauls had miscarried.

A period of repose followed these times of fierce excitement, and Rome had leisure to recover herself. The main events calling for notice are Nerva's successful campaign against the Marcomanni, and the withdrawal of the Bructeri from their homes to new settlements farther down the Rhine. The Chatti, now a powerful tribe between the Main and the Weser, harassed the frontiers by frequent inroads. In A. D. 88, Domitian attempted to chastise them, with little result; nevertheless he celebrated a triumph on his return to Rome, and assumed the title of Germanicus (Fig. 35). On the whole, however, there was peace between Germany and Rome, and the Germans, profiting by the lessons that had cost them so dear, were, at a far distance, following their foe on the path toward civilization.

Yet in spite of this, a concealed ferment was going on in the German forests, like the secret bubbling in a witches' cauldron. Anxiously all eyes were fixed on the clouds that were gathering for a storm. Rome's generals strove to meet the danger by fortifying the frontiers with all the resources of their civilization. Tacitus, Rome's greatest historian,



FIG. 35.—Copper coin of Domitian. *Germania Capta*. (Berlin.)

declared, with prophetic foresight, that only the annihilation of the German people could put an end to the struggle between them and Rome for the empire of the world; that their freedom was a more powerful menace than all the might of the Parthian king; and, that since their unity was fraught with danger to the Empire, nothing better could befall Rome than the mutual jealousies and disunion of the fair-haired barbarians.

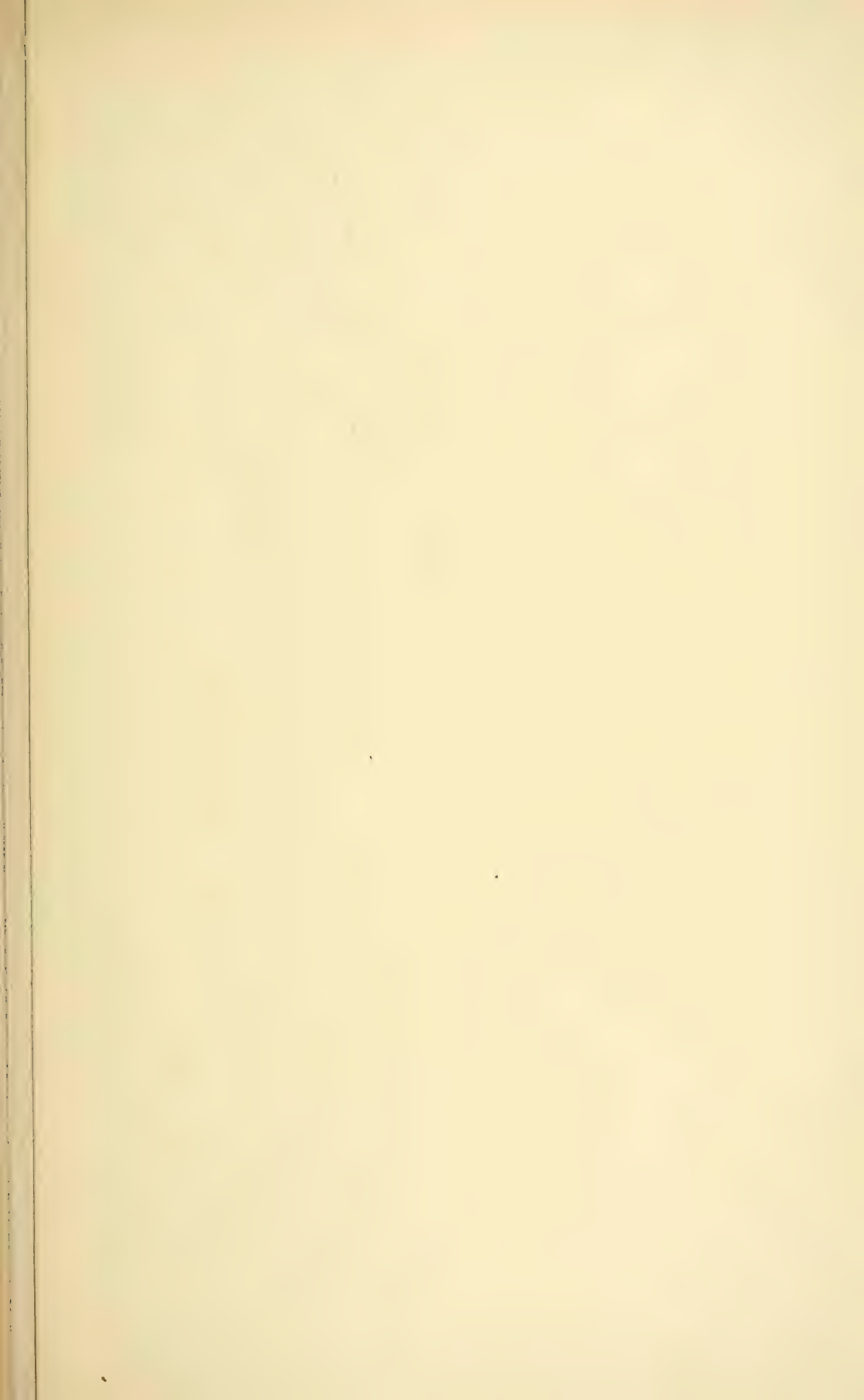
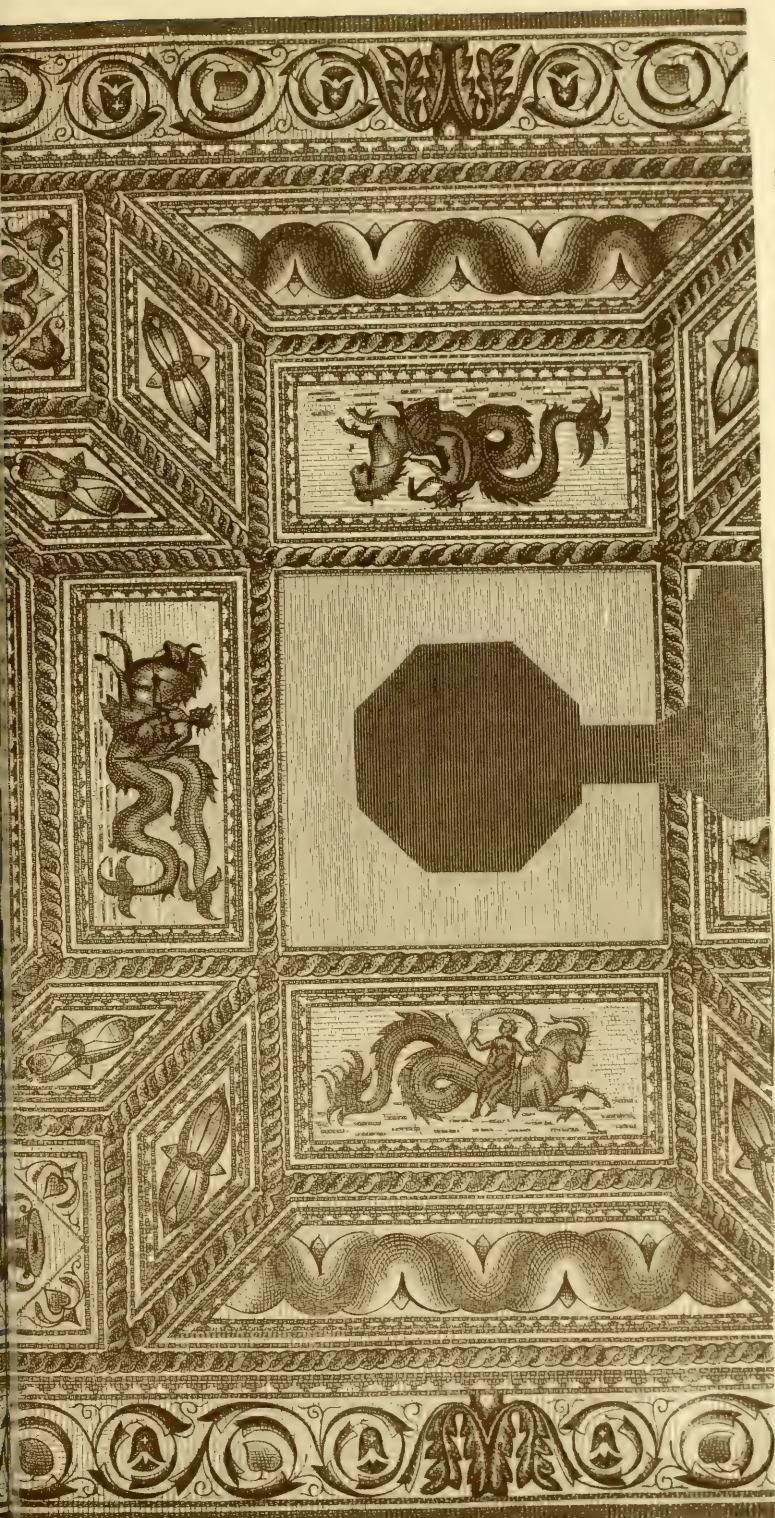
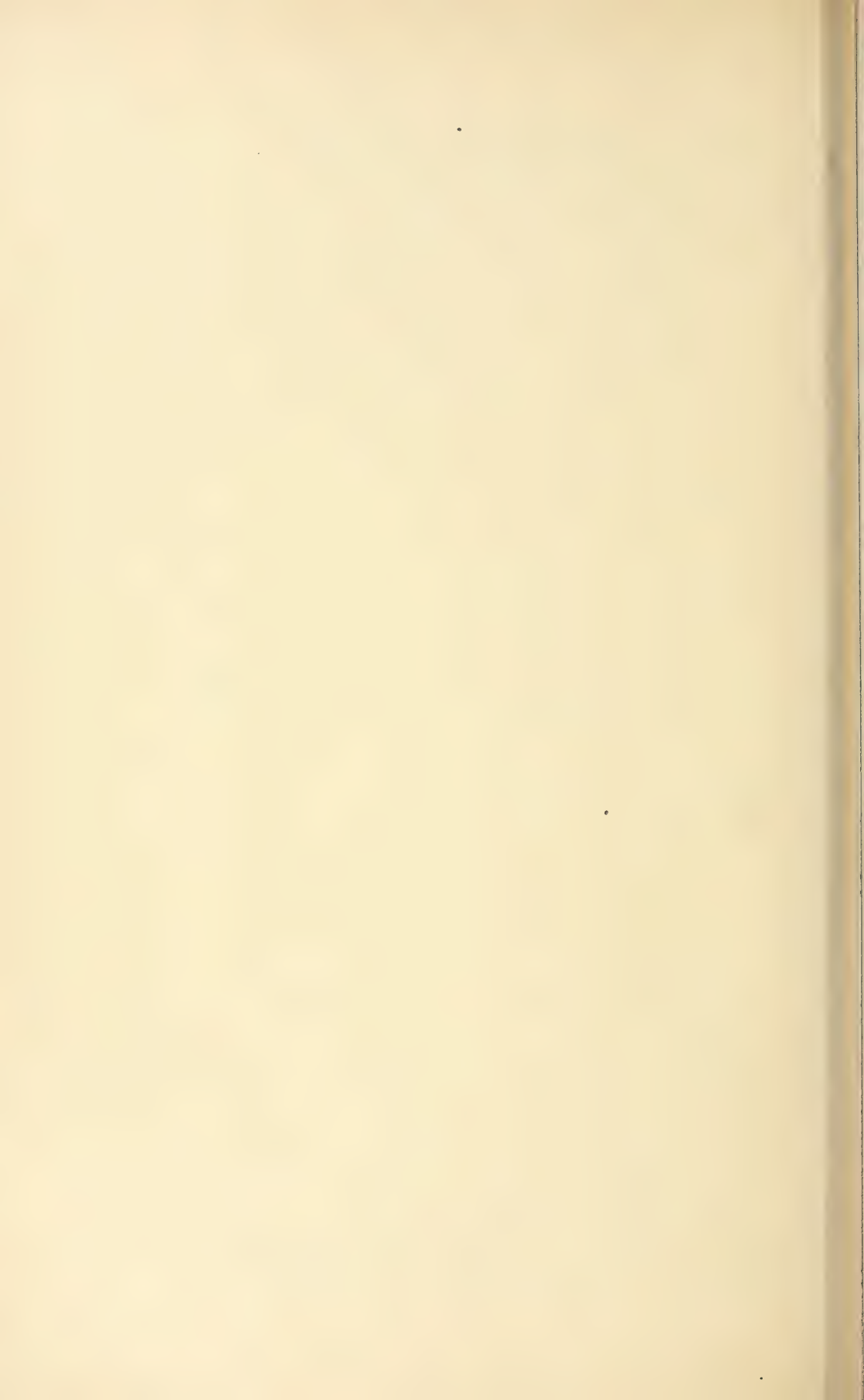


PLATE XI.





Mosaic Pavement in the Atrium of the Roman Villa at Westenhofen. (Munich, National Museum.)
 The mosaic bits are of their natural colors, and were cut with a saw: they are cubical in shape, with edges one-half to one-twelfth of an inch long. (In the cut a portion of the design is omitted, in part because it is here repeated, in part because it is defaced.)



CHAPTER V.

THE GERMANY OF TACITUS.

AS the history of Germany recedes into the gloom of its oak- and beech-forests, the germs of civilization and constitutional polity come into view.

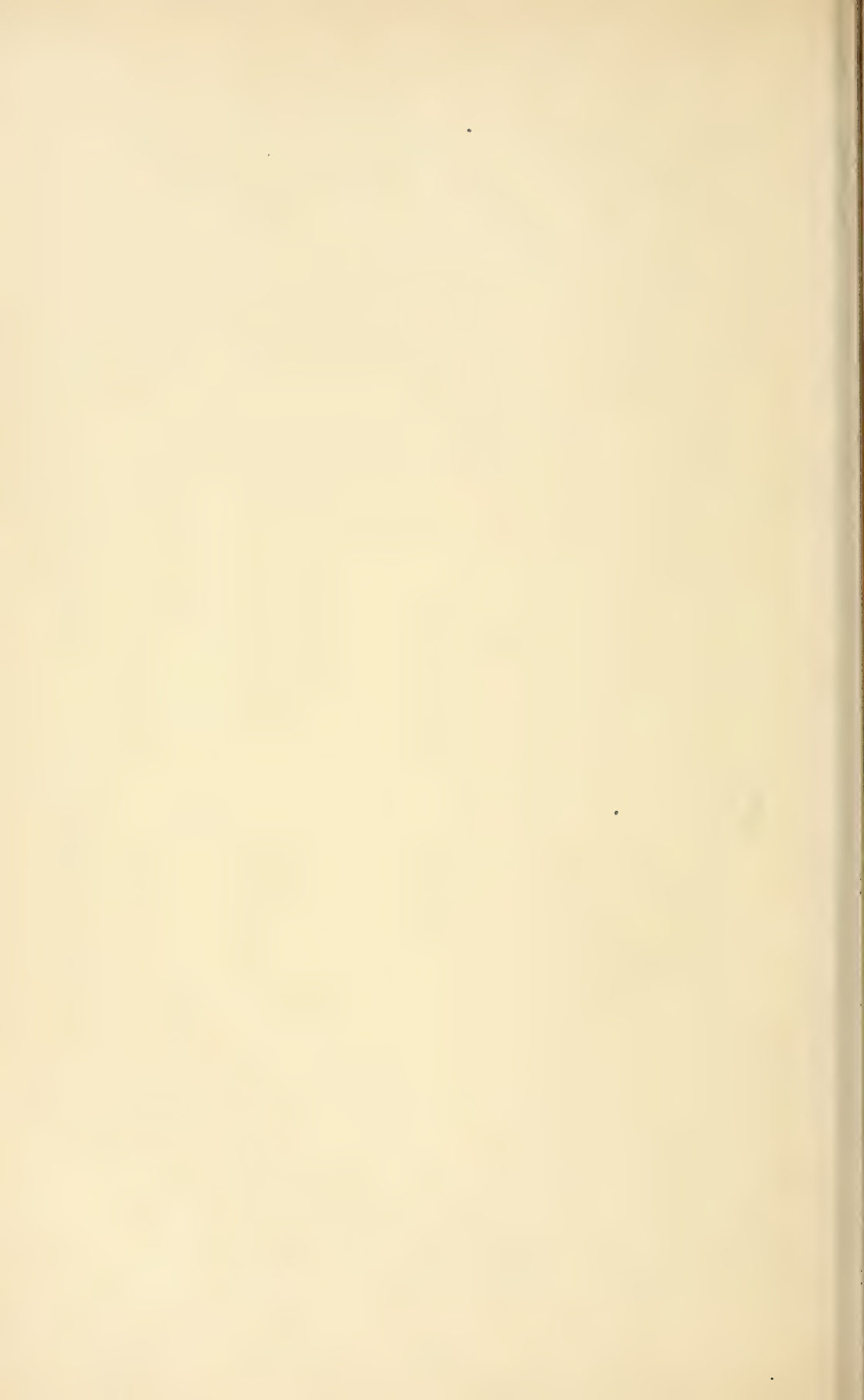
The country in which the collective German people lived and moved, comprised northern continental Europe as far east as modern Russia; on the west it stretched at many points over the Rhine; and on the south nearly reached the Danube. The early wanderers pushed first up along the great plain of the Rhine, then part crossed the river into Switzerland and France, while another part streamed through the Black Forest toward the east. Until they were conquered by the Romans, Würtemberg and Bavaria remained always Celtic, with the exception of some settlements or offshoots from the Cimbri and Suevi. To this fact the Celtic names of places and rivers, as well as those on the grave-stones, abundantly testify, while the local divinities were Celtic, so far as we know.

With the legions came Roman usages to the Rhine and the Danube (Fig. 36). The military colonies, camps, and adjacent villages were the germs of cities in which manufactures, art, and commerce later developed themselves. The region between the Danube and the Alps became essentially a military frontier, and was gradually filled with Roman settlers (Fig. 38). Noricum was especially Romanized. While the Celts pursued their primal mode of living in the remote valleys and deep forests, Augsburg, Ratisbon, Carnuntum, Acincum (Pesth), and, above all, Sirmium (Mitrovitz), saw within their walls the solidity of Roman structures and the luxury of Roman life. They rivalled the Rhenish cities—Mayence, Cologne, Xanten, and Bonn. (PLATE XI.)



FIG. 36.—Iron laurel wreath. Found, in 1597, in a grave near Lichtenberg on the Lech.

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Dread of the formidable legions tended to drive from the right bank of the lower Rhine its native settlers, who were gradually replaced by

Roman colonists. The district thus drawn into the Empire constituted an important military frontier, besides serving as pasture-lands for the herds of the army. Even thus its

peace was not insured, and Claudius was compelled to give up all the strong places on the right bank of the Rhine, save Deutz, opposite Cologne. The country lay once more desolate, for neither Roman nor German colonists succeeded in settling in it; and the left bank became the true military frontier.



FIG. 37. The Emperor Trajan. Antique statue in Naples. (From a photograph.)

The hill-country of the Neckar, since the exodus of the Suevi under Marbod, was scantily peopled, and here, between the source of the Danube and the Upper Rhine, there was a gap in the Roman system of defence. This was remedied toward the end of the First Century by connecting the Danube at Ratisbon with the Middle Rhine at Rheinbrohl by a wall, called a *Limes* or march-line. From the Rhine to Lorch in the Remsthal, this line was known as the Rhine *limes*; from Lorch along the Danube, as the Danube or Rhaetian *limes*. Modern Baden, Würtemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt, and the greater part of Nassau were thus separated from the rest of Germany. From the Rhine to Lorch the wall was by Trajan (Fig. 37) strengthened by a ditch, on the side toward Germany, as well as by towers, and by forts at regular distances on the Roman side. From Miltenburg to Gross-Krotzenburg, both on the Main, this river, strengthened by forts on its left bank, constituted the line. From Wörth on the Main, a second and interior line branched off westward through the Odenwald, touching the Neckar at Neckar-Elz, and thence running farther upward along this river. This second line was constituted by forts, without any wall.

The outer *limes*, especially from Wörth to the Danube, seems to have been mainly a march-line; the interior shows, by its strong line of forts,

that it was meant for defence. Here the Romans had the warlike Chatti on their border, while their Rhaetian neighbors were the friendly Hermunduri. That the Rhaetian *limes* had defence, in some measure, in view is evidenced by occasional forts, so placed as to command the river-stretches, as well as by a lately-discovered row of strong places on the Upper Neckar from Rottweil to Plochingen.

The top of the *limes* was, in some places, so narrow that a single foot-passenger could scarce walk on it; in others, it permitted a larger number to march abreast, and in such places was used as a military road. The forts stood apart a distance of, at most, a half-day's march or nine miles, and were situated on the Roman side of the wall, distant from it, on the average, not more than about a third of a mile. Directly on the wall were square watch-towers, defending the passages through the *limes*, which merchants and others were allowed to use under certain conditions. These were marked out by palisades and closed by a barrier. No armed man was permitted to pass. The palisaded ditches served not only as a check on plundering inroads, but, with their occasional advanced works, enabled small numbers to keep large masses at bay till the troops lying behind the interior line along the Odenwald could be in a state of readiness.

A similar series of walls was constructed in Northern Britain as a protection against the Scots (Fig. 39), as also near the lower Danube. In Bessarabia and Moldavia also there have lately been discovered military outposts.

The district enclosed by the *limes* was occupied mainly by veterans and restless emigrants, who held their possessions on condition of military service, and, in some cases, of paying the state a tenth of their produce, whereby it acquired the name of Tithe-lands (*Agri Decumates*). For military purposes the eastern half was under the governor of Rhaetia, who resided in Augsburg, and who was known, after the separation of military and civil functions in the Third Century, as "Commander at the Rhaetian wall"; the western half was under the Legate of Upper Germany, residing in Mayence, and later, under the "Commander at the trans-Rhenish wall." The army of the Upper Rhine, in the time of Marcus Aurelius, was reduced from four to two legions.

In these Tithe-lands Roman influence was especially potent. Latin was spoken, roads were made, and towns—such as Rottweil, Rottenburg, Ladenburg and Cannstadt—rose to be flourishing cities. The German settlers on the right of the Danube and left of the Rhine became gradually so Romanized, that soon they were scarcely to be distinguished from their Celtic neighbors. The numerous Germans who served in the Roman armies and the constant stream of travelling merchants carried

the seeds of Roman life far over the borders, where they were received by the fair-haired peasantry with amazement and distrust.



FIG. 1. Roman altar, with sacrificial scene. Found in 1507 (?), at Eining. (Munich, Antiquarium.) The inscription reads: Dominis nostris M. Aurelio Antonino et P. Septimio Getae Augustis et Juliae AVGustae MATRI AVGustorum Et KASTrorum Iovi Optimo maximo ET IVNoni REGinae ET MINERvae SACrum GENio COHortis III BRITannorum ARAM Titus FLavius FELIX PRAEFectus EX VOTO POSVIT Libens Merito. DEDICAVIT KALendis DECembribus GENTIANO ET BASSO ConSulibus. Accordingly the date of dedication is Dec. 1, 211 A. D. On the left side of the altar is the figure of Fortuna,—a woman with a cornucopia and oar; on the right, a man with a cornucopia making an offering upon an altar, on which a fire burns (Genius).

The Romans knew all the tribes by the collective name of Germans. The meaning of the word has been much disputed, but it is probably of Celtic origin, and was applied to the Germans by the Celts to distinguish them from themselves. The word "Deutsch" is of later origin: it does not appear before the Ninth Century, and only came into common use in the Twelfth. It is derived from the Old German word *thiod*, 'folk,' and had primarily reference to their speech, thus meaning 'the people speaking the folk-tongue.' The outer world regarded the Germans as one nationality, and an ancient Saga shows that the Germans also had a



FIG. 39.—Remains of Hadrian's Wall in England. Eastern gate of the Roman Camp at Birdos forest. (Illus. *London News*, 1882.)

dim perception that they were of common origin. This Saga names as their progenitor Tuisco, "the earth-born son of Heaven"; his son, Mannus, "the self-conscious being," was the first hero and father of all men. From the sons of Mannus sprang the three original branches of the Germans, the Ingvaëones, the Istvaëones, the Hermiones.

The Ingvaëones dwelt in the Northwest, and comprised the Frisian-Saxon group—Cimbri, Teutones, Chauci, Jutes, Frisii, and perhaps the Cherusci and the Angli. The Istvaëones occupied the West, and comprised the Frankish group—Sigambri, Chamavi, Ubii, Bructeri, etc. A

part of this group were settled on the left bank of the Rhine, and, therefore, came early under Roman influences. The Hermiones occupied Central Germany as far as the Danube, and comprised the Suevi, Hermunduri, Chatti, Langobardi, Marcomanni, Quadi, etc. Many of these wandered toward the South, whence originated new tribes and names, as Thuringians, Hessians, Alamanni, and Bavarians. To the above we have to add three more remote groups: first, the Northeast group, the Vandals, Burgundians, and Goths,—these, too, left their seats on the Baltic, and journeyed toward the South and Southwest; second, the Southeast group (of which we know least), in which were probably numbered the Sarmatians and Slavs; of Germans, the Bastarnæ belonged to it; third, the Northern group, Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes. All these many-membered tribes spoke originally the same tongue, worshipped the same gods, handed down the same traditions, had the same usages based on the same ideas of law. Nature and time, however, working together effaced these resemblances and introduced distinctive peculiarities.

When a tribe determined to leave its home in search of a new one, it packed wives and children, goods and chattels, on wagons, and set forth in



FIG. 40.—From the Column of Marcus Aurelius. A German wagon drawn by oxen. Roman soldiers. (Bartoli-Bellorius.)

caravan-fashion. Cattle were employed for draught (Fig. 40) and riding, or wandered along-side. In readiness for war the tribe was divided into military hundreds, each of which comprised a group of kinsmen—an arrangement which was continued in their new settlement for civil purposes.

The 'hundred,' *genu* or *pagus*, was the primary division of the

tribal state, and was originally a community of kinsfolk inhabiting the same locality in villages or isolated farms. Over each was a headman, chosen by popular voice, who looked after public affairs. Above the 'hundred' was the *civitas* or state, coincident sometimes with the whole tribe, sometimes with a section of it. It consisted of all free and able-bodied men, and was the representative of the whole people in war and peace. To a higher political unity or a consciousness of nationality men had not yet arrived. They fought, without hesitation, on the side of the Romans against their fellow-countrymen. For long centuries the Germans remained a nationless people.

Up to Caesar's time, the tribes, or their greater subdivisions, were without chiefs or princes (*principes civitatis*). After this date the office came to be more and more the rule. Its functions varied in different tribes. Primarily they were judicial officers or civil magistrates, a duke or military leader (*dux*, *Herzog*) being chosen for each war. In wars of defence, however, the civil chief (*princeps*) often appeared at the head of his tribe, and thus the two offices began to be combined. Some tribes were ruled by kings who were at first elective, and who exercised both civil and military functions. Marbod was the first German monarch of a considerable kingdom. A peculiar institution connected with the magistracy was the band of followers (*comitatus*) attached to the *princeps* or king, in peace and war, partly to enhance his dignity, partly to defend his person. These followers owed their chief service and fidelity to him, in return for which he provided for their daily wants and shared with them the spoils of war.

Private property was not held of much account, and there was no money, except such as came from the Romans. Its place was supplied by cattle, a one-year-old steer or heifer being the common standard of value. The soil was still the property of the community, and was yearly parcelled out among the families for tillage. Fruit- and vegetable-culture was unknown. All labor devolved on the old men, women, and slaves. The free German was essentially a warrior and hunter. Wealth consisted mainly in live stock—cattle, horses, swine, and large flocks of geese. To the movable property belonged the dwelling house, everywhere of the same general form. The frame was of wooden posts and cross-beams, covered by weather-boarding, kept in place by wattles and lime (Fig. 41). The roof was of straw. When the tillage-ground was re-allocated, the slaves went to the new acres. There were few house-slaves; most were field-hands with houses for themselves.

In the house, the husband ruled with unlimited authority. He chastised, killed, or sold wife and children at pleasure. The kin-alliance,



FIG. 41.—From the Column of Marcus Aurelius. Destruction of a German village abandoned by its inhabitants. The houses are circular huts, constructed of wicker-work, and having but a single narrow door. (Bartoli-Bellorini.)

sept, or clan, was an extension of the family, united by a bond of mutual rights and duties. The members had a common right of heritage, controlled marriages, and in war or legal process stood shoulder to shoulder. The bond of kinship was the essential condition of an individual's existence, and formed an important element in the fabric of the state.

The Germans fell into four classes—nobles, free-born, freedmen, slaves. A hereditary nobility seems to have developed itself in all the tribes. The rank was probably first won by great achievements, capacity as district- or tribe-leader, wealth, the number of members of the family, or ability to trace one's origin back to the gods. Of special privileges of the nobility we hear nothing in the earlier times. The free-born constituted the basis of the tribe. Their weapons were their constant companions in war, in the folk-meetings, and in their carousals. The manumitted slaves did not share in all the privileges of the free-born. They were not admitted as members of the state, and therefore were excluded from public rights, and required a patron. The slaves were not, as with the Romans, mere chattels. They could contract marriage and possess property. It is a peculiar fact that the German language has no word for "slave."

The folk-meetings, or councils, were held at regular intervals, and extraordinary sessions were also summoned for special purpose (compare Fig. 42). When all the freemen were assembled, the priest commanded silence and "the peace of the Ting,"¹ and proceedings commenced. The authority of the council extended to all matters of right and war. If a proposal gave dissatisfaction, it was received with murmurs; if it was pleasing, weapons were rattled. The people often marched from the place of meeting direct to war.

In accordance with their half-nomadic character, their rights and duties were not territorial, but personal; not national, but tribal. This was to them the charter of their freedom, in which they saw no warrant for unbridled license, but the public consciousness of the fact that man owed duty to no lord but his tribe. Their tribe was their home wherever it went, and to it alone their loyalty was due.

Besides the right of legal redress of wrong, there was also that of enforcing it by one's own hand, and it rested with the injured person to decide which remedy he would choose. In grievous cases, as murder, custom demanded not the legal penalty by fine, but vengeance by the kinsmen. This often led to bloody feuds between families and septs.

In the judiciary we must distinguish here between the power of pronouncing and that of enforcing judgment. The former belonged to the people, the latter to the judge (*princeps*). In pleading their cause, parties often became so heated that they had recourse to their weapons. When the complaint had been made and answered, the assembly decided

¹ The word is still preserved in the English "Husting" = House-ting. Tinwald Hill on the Isle of Man is, or was till lately, the place of meeting. Cf. "Althing" and "Storting," the parliaments of Iceland and Norway respectively.—TR.



FIG. 42.—A Council of Germans. From the Column of Marcus Aurelius. As the scene is one of the last in the series it probably represents deliberations concerning the terms of peace with the Romans. (Bartoli-Bellorius.)

which party should bring proof, and in what form, and what the legal issue of such proof would be. Evidence was presented by compurgators who testified, not to the facts of the case, but to the credibility of the party. Sometimes the decision was left to the ordeal, by lot or by wager of battle, on the supposition that the gods would give the victory to the just cause.

According to some authorities, the person of the freeman was inviolable; only the priest, in the name of the gods, could lay hand on him. As the person, so the house, whose "peace" even the judge was bound to respect. Hence it came that a sentence could be carried out only by indirect means, the weightiest of which was declaration of outlawry or "*Friedlosigkeit*," for as "*Friede*" (peace) was in their eyes the condition of undisturbed law and order, so a breach of the law was a breach of the peace.¹

All the German tribes had the same physical characteristics—blue eyes, fair hair, and great bodily stature. Self-reliance, firmness, and energy seem to lie at the foundation of their character; yet in their untamed natures passion easily overruled quiet reflection and homely good sense. Good-natured in ordinary circumstances, they were unbridled in their rage, cruelty, and wilfulness, and became maddened over their games at dice. Their pledged word was sacred; yet by the side of inviolate fidelity lay craft and deceit. They had neither will-power nor self-command, and thus lacked the ethical stability of a civilized people. The most opposite traits united in them—magnanimity and meanness, artless simplicity and vulgar treachery, elation in prosperity, and utter prostration in misfortune. Their forte lay in stormy attack: for persistent effort they were lacking in endurance.

Immediately after sleep, which the German often protracted till late in the day, he bathed; after the bath, he ate; after eating he went about his daily business, which was often drinking. The carousals continued day and night, and commonly were closed by a brawl. Murder could be expiated by the payment of cattle. The one thing inexpiable was cowardice in war (Fig. 43).

The war-mania ruled his life. Even the dance learned in boyhood was performed amid swords and spears; to his bride he brought as a marriage-gift, oxen, a bridled horse, a shield with sword and spear; and when he was laid to his last rest, his weapons, and often his war-horse, were burned on his funeral-pyre. Adventurous and ardent, he panted for the fight and victory—even for wounds—above all, for fame. At home in time of peace he devoted himself to hunting and idleness. For days

¹ Yet the above is not quite free from doubt: for from a passage in the twelfth chapter of the *Germania* of Tacitus we may infer that the sentence of the folk-meeting sufficed to put the criminal outside the law, and subject to direct punishment.

he sat crouching over the hearth-fire, and rejoiced when a wandering minstrel entered who could chant to him the hero-songs of the olden times. Like most lovers of drink, the Germans were fond of singing, and before joining battle were wont to strike up a bardic song. But, unlike drinkers generally, they were continent, especially in their relations with the wives and daughters of freemen. Marriage did not take place till full manhood, and custom prescribed a chaste marriage-bed, thus insuring a robust progeny. The wife had to bear nearly all the burden of the toil. She had not only her household duties, spinning in all her leisure moments,



FIG. 4. — A scene representing an execution. From the Column of Marcus Aurelius. (Bartoli-Bellorius.) The ordinary explanation is that we have here the king of the Quadi—to be recognized by the baton or roll, in his right hand—superintending the beheading of several Germans who had formed alliances with the Romans. Perhaps the opposite explanation is more correct: viz., that Germans who have violated a compact made between their king and the Romans are here punished by the former.

but the care of the fields devolved also on her. She followed her husband to battle, bound up his wounds, and not rarely fell with him under the sword of the victorious enemy. The German's marital loyalty was further manifested by the fact that he was the only barbarian who lived in monogamy. Only men of high rank took occasionally more than one wife. The wife was held in high respect; her praise was her husband's highest reward; her loss by captivity his most dreaded calamity.

The diet was simple and consisted essentially of the flesh of wild and domestic animals, with grain, honey, cheese, butter, and milk. For drink

they had beer and mead, and sometimes wine, procured by barter from the Romans. The various tribes were differently clothed. While the Rhenish tribes went often in skins of animals, leaving a part of the person uncovered, the North and East Germans, on account of the rigor of their climate, required warmer clothing, whereby they acquired no small skill in furriery. Men and women dressed often much alike, only that the latter oftener wore linen which was partially dyed red. The arms and part of the breast remained free. From objects found in the excavations

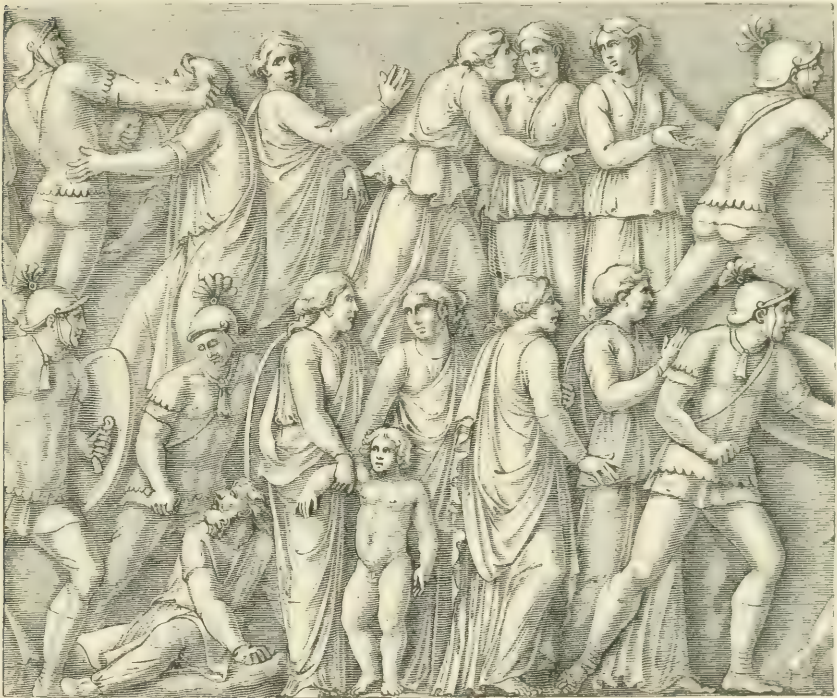


FIG. 44.—Group of captive German women. From the Column of Marcus Aurelius. (Bartoli-Bellorius.)

we see that rings for various parts of the body, brooches, and hairpins, were common. A short woollen mantle was the upper covering. The rich were better clad than the poor, but in similar garments. On Roman sculptures we often see Germans with a mantle thrown round them, reaching nearly to the knee, and fastened at the shoulder. Under this is a tailed coat, sometimes with arms, sometimes without. Breeches of various kinds are seen. The women appear in long, flowing woollen garments reaching to the ground (Fig. 44). The feet are sometimes naked, some-

times shod with skin or leather shoes. The honorable distinction of the free was long, flowing hair, which in some tribes was combed upward, and gathered into a knot at the top.

Traffic and industry remained undeveloped, for there was no money. Amber was sent to the South from the shores of the northern seas, while, in return, Roman, Celtic, and Romano-German merchants brought

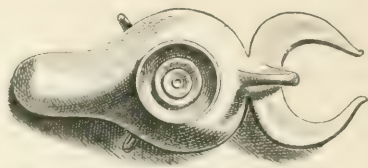


FIG. 45. — Roman bronze lamp, found at Ratisbon; $\frac{1}{2}$ original size.

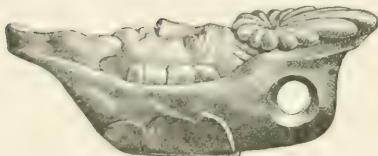


FIG. 46. — Roman lamp, found at Ratisbon; $\frac{1}{2}$ original size.

Southern wares to the North. Roman manufactures and Roman crafts-men penetrated from the border-provinces inland, and displaced the older forms of weapons, utensils and ornaments (Figs. 45, 46; and PLATE XII.¹).

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE XII.

The Romano-Germanic Period. Weapons, domestic utensils, and ornaments.

1. Iron, double-edged sword: length, $3\frac{1}{10}$ ft. From the fen of Vimose. In Copenhagen, Museum.

2. Roman sword (*gladius*): of iron, $33\frac{1}{2}$ in. long. On the haft is the stamp of the forger: SABINI. The blade is two-edged and terminates in a point with four edges. The unusual length of the haft is due to the large knobs and strips of wood or horn forming parts of the guard. Bonn, in private possession.

3. Iron sword, with one cutting edge: length, $20\frac{1}{2}$ in. Copenhagen. From Vimose.

4. Iron sword: length, $22\frac{1}{2}$ in. From Vimose. Odense, Museum. Nos. 1, 3 and 4 are the most striking examples of types of swords used in the earliest part of the Iron Age in Northern Europe.

5. Blade of a short sword of steel, with remains of the iron mountings of the sheath: length, $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. At the centre of the side the blade is slightly raised and has a fine ridge running the whole length. The sheath was made of wood covered with leather; at the middle and at the mouth there were bands of iron, with rings for attaching the weapon to the belt or shoulder-strap. Found at Spire.

6. Head of a Roman javelin: iron, with four sides: length, $4\frac{9}{10}$ in. Found near the Rhine. Mayence, Museum.



The Romano-Germanic Period.—We



Weapons, domestic utensils, and ornaments.

From the blending of Roman and barbaric influences in the frontier provinces, a local and peculiar culture was there developed, in which new

7. Iron spearhead, from the remains of the Roman colony at Laiz, in Sigmaringen: length, $6\frac{3}{10}$ in. Sigmaringen, Museum.

8. Short spearhead, from a grave in Southern Norway: length, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.

9. Curved knife: iron, $\frac{1}{3}$ original size. From a grave near Persanzig. Berlin, Museum.

10. Curved knife, from a grave in Southern Norway: iron, about $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.

11. Iron pincers. Found in Silesia. Breslau, Museum.

12, 13. Iron spoons. Found in Silesia. Breslau, Museum.

14. Conical shieldboss: height, $3\frac{9}{10}$ in. From a grave in Southern Norway.

15. Black vase, with meander ornamentation. Found, containing incinerated bones, in an urn-mound near Schkopau, in Prussian Saxony.

16. Vase of earthenware: height, $12\frac{2}{5}$ in. Made upon the potter's wheel, and carefully painted: the ground is white, the figures ochre and red. Found near Alzey. Mayence, Museum.

17. Cinerary urn. Found with incinerated bones and two simple Roman fibulae, at Milow, in West Priegnitz. Berlin, Märkisches Museum.

18. Earthenware vase, made on the potter's wheel and painted: height, $8\frac{1}{3}$ in. The dice-shaped ornaments are sharply incised. Found in a grave at Mölsheim. Mayence, Museum.

19. Cinerary urn: black, with meander ornamentation. Found in the urn-cemetery of Darzau. Hanover, Museum.

20. Bronze plaque, with colored ornaments (smelted) in the form of circles, stars, rosettes, and bands: length, with the pendants, $7\frac{3}{10}$ in. Probably part of a horse's trappings, since it was found with fragments of harnesses and chariots. From Geinsheim, in the Bavarian Rhenish Palatinate. Spires, Museum.

21. Part of a bronze fibula, smelted, and decorated with an ivyleaf. The inner surface is orange, the outer greenish-blue: diameter, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. Found on the Saalburg near Homburg. Homburg, Saalburg-Museum.

22. Bronze fibula: the front of the bow is narrow, and decorated with oblique stripes; at the sides the bow is broader. The pin moves on a hinge: length, $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. Found near Mayence. Mayence, Museum.

23. Fibula: from the urn-cemetery of Darzau. Hanover, Museum.

24. Bronze fibula: from the graves of Oliva.

25. Bronze fibula, with ornaments of polygonal knobs: the bow and the pin-support are of the same breadth; the pin is attached to the spring which winds about the transverse piece: length, $3\frac{9}{10}$ in. Found at Ulm.

26, 27. Parts of two bronze brooches, adorned with alternating colors, in smelted work: diameter, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. Found in the Roman graves at Ratisbon. Ratisbon.

28. Bronze plaque, ornamented with vine and ivy patterns. The ground was filled in with enamel, of which traces in red and blue appear: length, $3\frac{9}{10}$ in. Found in Italy. Carlsruhe, Museum.

29. Bronze pendant, with enameled vine and ivy pattern: width, $1\frac{1}{5}$ in. Found at Mayence. Mayence, Museum.

30. Silver bracelet. From the Wotenitz finds. Schwerin, Museum.

31. Silver bracelet, probably from the grave of a woman. Found in a burial urn at Kieckelhof near Elbing. Elbing, Museum.

32, 33. Bronze dipper and handle, decorated with vine and ivy patterns: diameter, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. Found at Pyrmont.

34. Ornamental bronze plaque, use unknown: incrustated with bronze of a golden hue, silver, and copper: width, 2 in. Found in Italy(?). Bonn, in private possession.

35. Bronze fibula, from the graves of Oliva.

Nos. 1, 3, 4, 8-15, 17, 19, 23, 24, 30, 31 and 35 are from Undset; Nos. 2, 5-7, 16, 18, 20-22, 25-29, 32-34 are from Lindenschmit.

types as well as many other peculiarities make themselves apparent. This culture spread inland, and from North Germany and Jutland found its way to the Baltic islands and Scandinavia. We find evidences of it in the Isle of Bornholm and in South Norway, in the modes of disposing of the dead. There we find urn-graves and trenches with cremated remains, not deposited in urns, but covered by the same mound.

Romano-provincial clasps of this period are particularly frequent, generally of bronze, but also of silver and iron, and often delicately



FIG. 47.—Earthenware vases. (After Klemm.) 1. From a grave-mound in Saxony; height, 11½ in. 2. From the Frankish graves at Osthofen, near Worms; height, 7¾ in. 3. Rhenish vase, of Roman date; height, 11½ in.

ornamented. The other Roman articles found are of very various character—coins, bronze and clay utensils, gold objects, pendent ornaments, chains, brooches, spindle-stones, scissors, knives, glass-pearls (mostly blue),

combs, etc. Silver vessels came probably as presents to the magnates, who used them as they would have used earthenware.

Importation naturally led to imitation, and influenced the technique in many ways. Clay utensils were fashioned on the potter's wheel (Fig. 47); men fabricated glass-pearls with inlaid colored threads, and carved in iron, overlaying it with gold and silver, which they beat in, and polished, etc. Craftsmen understood now how to produce objects of a much more complicated character than formerly, and evidently preferred Roman models (Figs. 48, 49). The swords are two-edged, the shield-

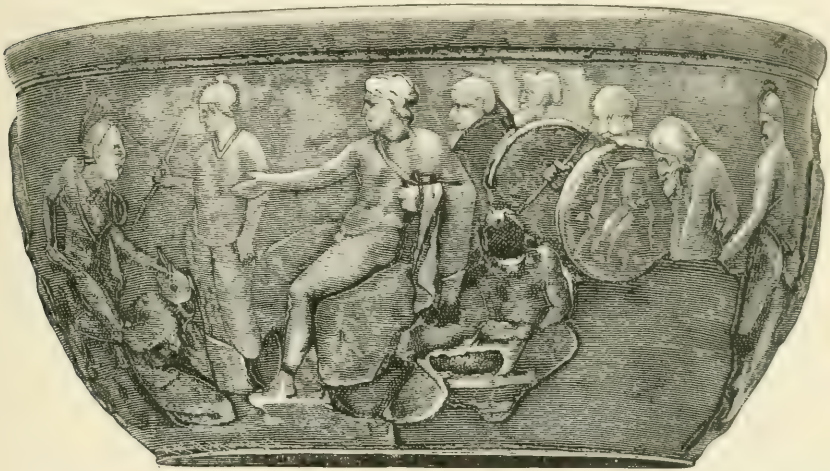


FIG. 48.—Silver vase, with reliefs, representing Pyrrhus after the capture of Troy. Roman work, found at Eichstädt or Ingolstadt; height, 2½ in. (Munich.)

bosses conical with a projecting spike; the spear-points have sharply-defined edges. The whole technique indicates mechanical skill and ingenuity, occasionally a certain manufacturing activity, and, altogether, a higher industrial development than is generally credited.

In South Germany, which was peculiarly the Celtic region, the early periods of culture were followed by a purely Roman one, which, as the district became inundated by Germans in search of new homes, gradually assumed a Germanic character.

The strength of the Germans in war lay in their infantry, which with loud cries rushed on in wedge-form or in broad masses. The cavalry fought intermixed with infantry. As iron was not yet in sufficient abundance, the spear, equally adapted for thrusting and throwing, was the main weapon of many tribes. The North Germans carried, besides, a knife-like sword. The left hand held the painted shield, whose loss



FIG. 49. Bronze figure of Bacchus. Found at Obelfing in Upper Bavaria. Height, $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. (Munich.)

was the greatest disgrace. Coat of mail and helmet were rare. Besides these weapons, we find also the long sword, the club, the sling, the bat-

the axe, and bow and arrow (Fig. 50). Intercourse with the Romans and Celts led to the gradual adoption of their weapons.

As a people without sentimentality, the Germans made no great parade at their burials. The objects the dead had most valued were laid along with them in the grave—with men, their weapons; with women, their ornaments.

They had priests, and occasionally priestesses, but no sacerdotal caste. These servants of the gods, however, were held in especial honor both in public and private life. Prophecies and determination by lot were customary. Animals were sacrificed; and, to the highest gods, occasionally human beings were offered. Their conceptions of the gods were a bequest from their early Aryan days, modified in accordance with the development of their national individuality. Unfortunately our information here is unsatisfactory, especially as Caesar and Tacitus, to be more intelligible to their readers, substitute Roman divinities for German ones. According to the latter, the Germans conceived it to be inconsistent with the greatness of the gods that they should be shut up in temples, or represented under human similitude; wherefore they worshipped them in forests and groves, named after their respective divinities—an interpretation probably more correct, though less poetic, than the older one: that they designated by the name of the godhead that mysterious power, to which they looked only with awe. In this interpretation the spiritual element, the faculty of seeing with the soul, is accentuated.

The German cult of the gods was a nature-worship, varying in different tribes. Besides the bliss-dispensing powers of the Light, there were at work the dark powers of Night and Destruction. Fancy shaped for itself out of these Nature-powers a giant race rejoicing in war; yet such, that it passed by gradual development from a state of peace to one of conflict. By this transition, the gods mutually restricted each other in their power and authority, and all were



FIG. 50.—From the Column of Trajan.

A German ally of the Romans against the Dacians. He is naked to the waist, and wears only loose-fitting breeches, and a mantle wrapped as a girdle around his waist. His weapons are his club, an oval shield, and a sword. (Fröhner.)

brought into subjection to gloomy Fate. As in the case of the saints of Spain and Italy, one god was held in special honor by one tribe; and another, by another; while the same, or similar attributes, were ascribed by different tribes to different gods. The gods ruled and determined life. Men served them while alive, and passed to them on dying.

Most wide-spread was the worship of Wodan (Wuotan, Odin) and Donar (Thor), the former being by many regarded as the chief god. He was the almighty, omniscient, and creative power, on whom success depended, especially victory. As the energizing power, and god of light and air, he was especially the patron-god of tillage, to whom the last sheaf was consecrated; as well as the god of the spirit and of inspiration. With wisdom and goodness there were united in him the might and vehemence of rage. To him belonged the heroes who died on the battle-field; while as a wild huntsman he scoured stormfully over plain and mountain. Many kindred traits we find in Wodan's son, and rival god, Donar, the ruler over clouds and rain, who rages through the air in thunder and lightning, and hurls his bolts on the earth. His name survives in German *Donnerstag* (Thursday, 'Thor's day'); while the English Wednesday preserves that of Wodan. Ziu¹ (Tyr) was peculiarly the god of war. In the Mark (March-land) of the Semnones was his sacred grove, whither, on a fixed day, there assembled delegates from all the tribes of the Suevian confederacy, and celebrated a great festival, with human sacrifices. Nerthus,² the mother of the gods—the holy mother Earth, and protectress of home and hearth—seems to have been worshipped in Schleswig-Holstein. In Heligoland ('the sacred land') stood one of her groves, in which was a consecrated chariot, wherein, at stated times, a priest rode through the land, drawn by two cows. Wherever he came he brought blessing—toil rested, and strife with all its woes ceased, at least for a time. The gods thus occasionally effected a unity, which in political relations did not exist.

Altars and symbols of the gods, and even temples of wood, were not altogether unknown; while men prayed also in darksome caves and on sunny heights—on the latter, especially to Wodan on the still well-known Wodansberge. Generally, however, their sacred ceremonies were celebrated in woods, so that the word for wood (*Wald*) has in Old German also the meaning of temple. Here tarried the milk-white horses of the Sun, undescended by labor, the confidants of the gods, whose will they made known by their neighings.

¹ This god is also commemorated in English Tuesday, Scottish Tyesday (from Tisday), Swedish Tisdag, Danish Tirsdag.—Tr.

² *Herthæ*: German Erde, English, Earth.—Tr.

Such was the civilization of the people who inhabited North and Middle Germany. Almost naked and in penury, the flaxen-haired youth grew up, among cattle and horses, to robust manhood; somewhat rude indeed, but capable of culture; abounding in health and energy; and fit to take their place among the people that were to shatter to pieces a world-wide empire and to inaugurate a new epoch in the history of mankind.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM MARCUS AURELIUS TO PROBUS.

(A. D. 165 TO A. D. 282.)

A GREAT part of Germany, especially in the North, was barren. Its people preferred the chase and the battle to clearing forests and tilling acres. As population increased, a sense of necessity, stimulated by love of adventure, impelled men forth in search of new fields. Displacements, sometimes amounting to regular migrations, ensued; tribes became intermixed; strangers wedged themselves in among older settlers. In the latter half of the Second Century all Germany was in commotion. We find evidence of this in the appearance of new tribal names, as well as in the increased energy and frequency of the attacks on the Roman frontiers. Among these new folk-groups we note especially the Saxons in modern Holstein; the Franks on the Lower and Middle Rhine; and the Alamanni between the Middle and Upper Rhine and the Danube.¹



FIG. 51.—Copper coin of Marcus Aurelius, German arms, many of which resemble those of the Romans. (Berlin.)

We now reach one of these grand movements that form an epoch in German history. The barbarian Goths stormed southward from the shores of the Baltic, driving the tribes on which they fell, wholly or partially from their settlements. Other movements took place along the Danube, especially on the part of the Marcomanni, who, like the Quadi, had been members of a comparatively well-ordered State. These in turn, along with other people driven forth by the Northern barbarians, demanded admittance into the Empire.

This was denied, and the hostilities which ultimately ensued assumed quite a different character from those in earlier wars. Formerly Rome defended her frontiers by advances over the Rhine and Danube. Now she was content with simply warding off danger. For many years the

¹ The first derive their name from their favorite weapon, the *Sax*, or knife-like sword, while the "Franks" are simply the "Freemen." "Alamanni" may mean "Men of all tribes" or "True Men," or the word may point back to Old German *alah*, temple, and mean "People of the Sacred Grove;" for the Semnones, in whose home stood, as is above mentioned, the sacred grove of the old Suevian confederation, constituted the leading element in the new people. Their proper folk-name continued to be Suevi or Swabians.



FIG. 52.—From the Column of Marcus Aurelius.

A scene of compact between the king of the Marcomanni (or Quadi) and another German ruler. On opposite sides of a stream, which probably separated their respective territories, the kings have gathered with their attendants. The group at the right, who seem to be encamped, if such is the meaning of the tent, welcome with outstretched hands their allies, who have apparently just arrived on horseback. The boats will be used in crossing the river. The bridles and saddles of the horses differ essentially from those of Roman horses; they lack the ornaments on the head and breast, and other decorations. (Bartoli-Bellorius.)

half of her troops were required for the defence of the Danube, threatened in all its length.

On the death of Antoninus Pius peace came to a close. Marcus Aurelius (Fig. 51) assumed the purple amid dark clouds gathering all around. The Parthian war, especially, demanded all the resources of Rome, and troops had to be withdrawn even from the Danube. Whether emboldened by this weakening of the guard, or impelled by the pressure from behind, first the Chatti (A. D. 162), and thereafter, in A. D. 165, the Marcomanni, mixed with other peoples—even with the Langobardi from the Lower Elbe—crossed the river (Fig. 52). These entered the Empire, apparently with no hostile intent, for on the appearance of the legions they turned their backs and recrossed the Danube. But the pressure from behind did not slacken, and necessity soon compelled them to attempt to extort by force what was denied to entreaty.

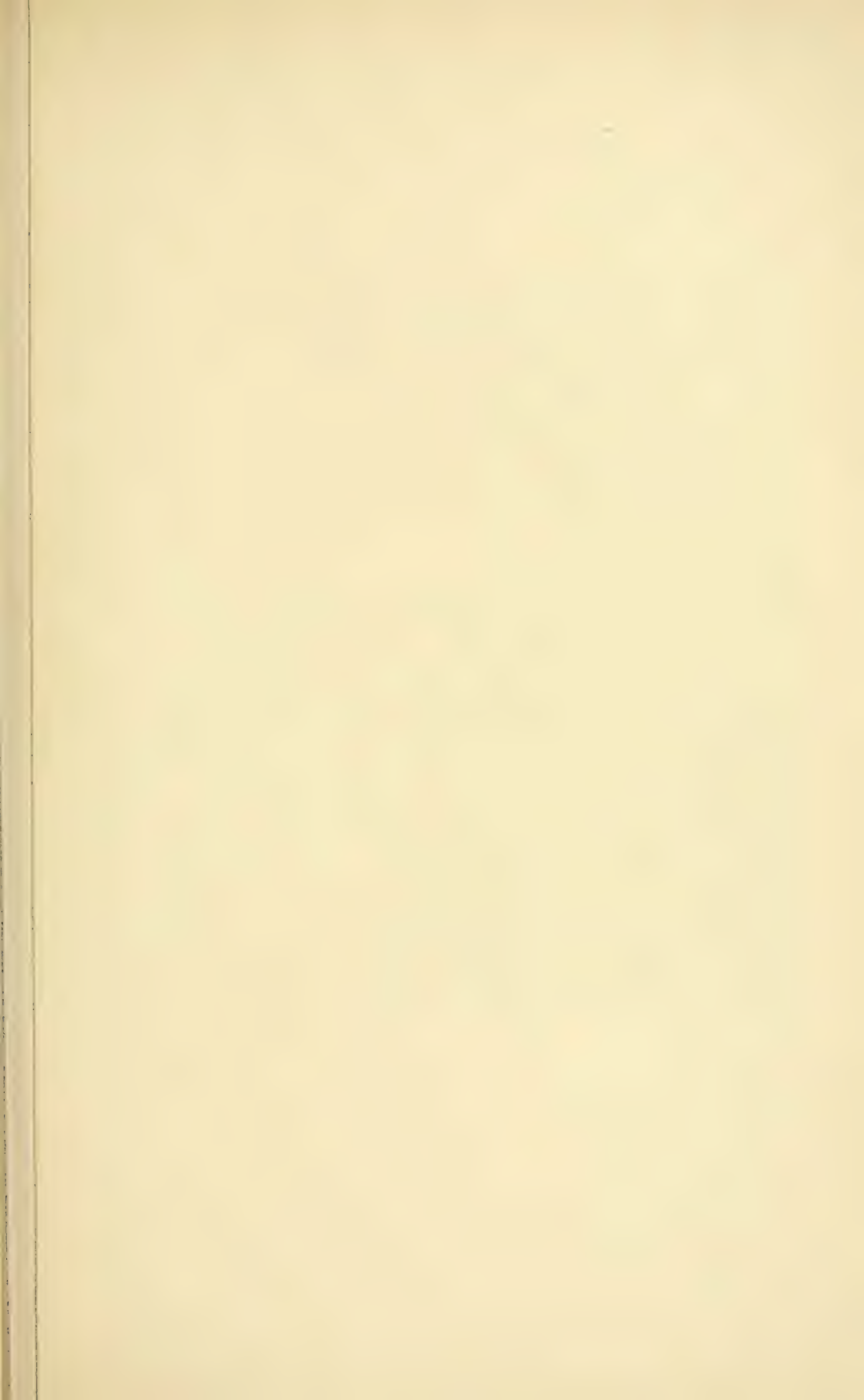
In 166, the Parthian war was successfully concluded, and the victors entered Rome in triumph, accompanied by a terrible foe—the plague. Death held high carnival. To fill the cup of terrors, tidings came, on a sudden, from the Danube, that the tribes were again in motion, and in greater strength than before. Along with the Marcomanni, Chatti, and Quadi, came the Sarmatian Jazyges, and, probably, septs of the Goths. The border provinces were quickly overrun, and countless prisoners carried off. Too late the separate cities endeavored to strengthen their defences. A Roman army was defeated on the Mur, with a loss of 20,000 men. For the first time in 300 years, the barbarians stormed over the barrier of the Alps, and threatened Aquileia. Only slowly were



FIG. 53.—Lucius Verus.
Copper coin, inscribed :
LVCIVS AVRELIVS VE-
RVS AVGVSTVS ARME-
NIACVS. (Berlin.)

the two emperors, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (Fig. 53), able to collect an army fit to cope with the peril. The barbarians retreated, and the Romans, probably storming the passes of the Julian Alps, reconquered Rhaetia, Noricum, and Pannonia, securing these provinces by forts and garrisons. The Caesars seem to have returned to Rome. There the plague still raged, and it was probably this scourge that mainly weakened the strength of the Germans. As the pestilence somewhat relaxed, the Caesars, in the autumn of 168, betook themselves to winter-quarters in Aquileia, whither they had assembled an army

of nearly 200,000 men, with the view of leading it in spring to the Danube. In the autumn of 168, the plague broke out in the Roman army, encamped on the Danube; the emperors, terror-stricken, left the





Romans in Conflict with Germanic Tribes. Pl. I

(From B. I.)

History of All Nations, Vol. VI, page 167.



Relief from the Column of Marcus Aurelius, Rome.

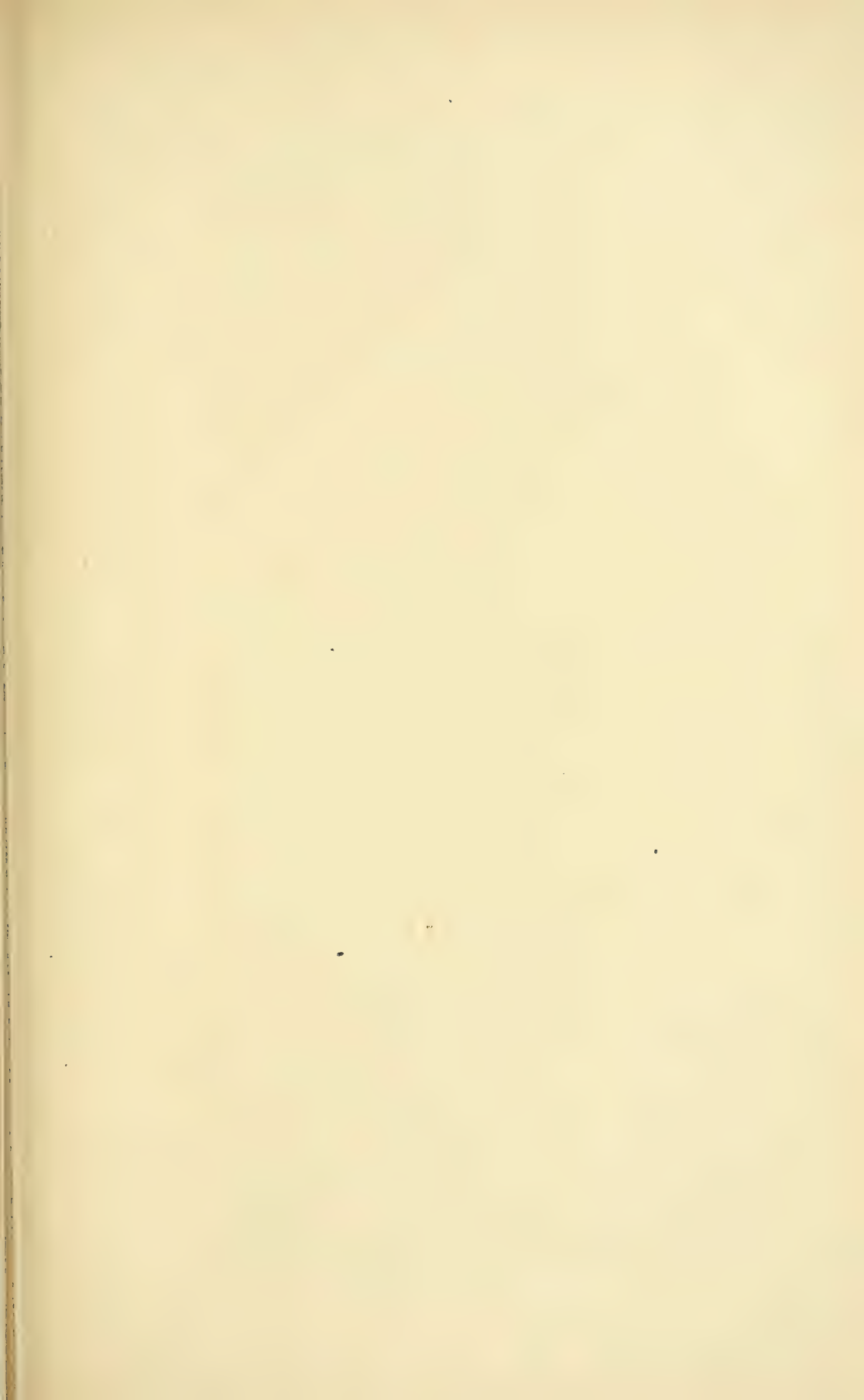
(See Bellorius.)

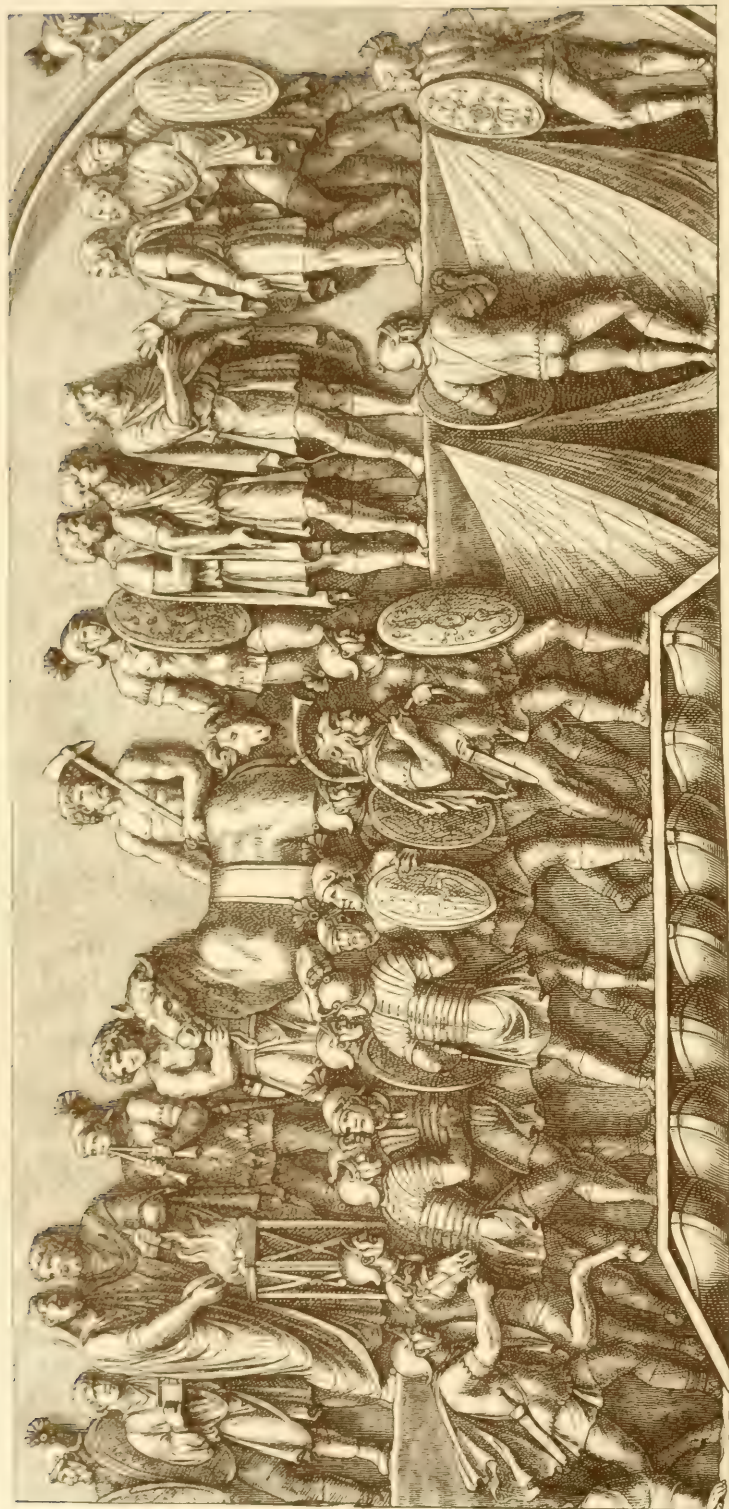
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History of All Nations, Vol. VI., page 167.



Relief from the Column of Marcus Aurelius, Rome.
(li-Bellorius.)





Romans crossing the Danube.
Relief from the Column of Marcus Aurelius in Rome. (Bartoli-Bellorius.)

History of All Nations, Vol. VI., page 107.

place, and Verus died at Altinum, in the country of the Veneti. The situation was critical—the troops half-mutinous, the treasury empty, the general feeling that of despair. Amid all this, Aurelius remained unshaken. Money was raised by a great auction of the jewels and other precious objects in the imperial treasury, and he was enabled to recruit his thinned ranks. So great was the urgency, that even slaves and gladiators were enrolled, the predatory Servians summoned, and German auxiliaries hired in the North and West.

In the meantime, the Germans again seized and plundered Pannonia. About the beginning of the year 170, the emperor returned to the legions, and began a war that raged till 176—one of the gravest that Rome was engaged in during the Second Century. It was won only through the dissensions of the Germans. Pannonia was reconquered, and, in the course of three subsequent campaigns, the Marcomanni, the Quadi, and, finally, the Sarmatians and Jazyges, were chastised (PLATE XIII.¹). The passage of the Danube was made with much difficulty (PLATE XIV.²). On the frozen stream there was a hand-to-hand fight with the nimble, well-mounted Jazyges; and on one occasion, the Quadi were on the point of annihilating the Roman host, when thunder and lightning came to the rescue. The Chatti were still restless, and now the Vandals, in the East, came to mingle in the fray.

At length the resistance of the barbarians was weakened (Fig. 54). Peace was concluded, first with the Quadi, then with the Marcomanni on condition of their selling market-places and land. Both peoples were bridled by frontier-forts and an army of occupation of 20,000 men. Roman influence and culture were anxiously promoted, and the border neutral tract, which had been formerly about nine miles broad, reduced

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE XIII.

Romans in conflict with Germanic tribes. Relief from the Column of Marcus Aurelius, Rome. (Bartoli-Bellorius.)

The scene is that of a battle, the issue of which is determined. In the foreground a few Germans—of whom one carries the *scramasax*—are still fighting their conquerors. The Romans crowd in from all sides, set the huts on fire, drive the herds of cattle away, and carry men and women into captivity: one of the latter wears a sort of crown.

² EXPLANATION OF PLATE XIV.

Romans crossing the Danube. Relief from the Column of Marcus Aurelius in Rome. (Bartoli-Bellorius.)

The emperor (*imperator*) is on the point of crossing the river: the bridge of boats is ready, and soldiers are already upon it. On the bank, and facing the river, Marcus Aurelius offers, upon a tripod, to Jupiter or Mars, a sacrifice of an ox and of a ram, which the chief-priest and his servants bring forward. Perhaps the sacrifice is that known as *Suovetaurilia*, and the boar is not here figured. The second part of the relief shows the emperor in the enemy's territory. He is receiving in his tent delegates from the foe, the leader of which offers his right hand as a token of friendly intentions, but appears to do so in vain.

to the half of that width. In the East, the war continued with varying success. Alliances were made, now with one tribe, now with another, in order to turn their arms against their old comrades. At length the Jazyges were brought to terms. They had to yield up their captives, 100,000 in number, leave a neutral zone several miles wide between them and the Romans, and contribute 8000 horsemen to the army. Still



FIG. 54.—Germans suing their conquerors for peace. From the Column of Marcus Aurelius. (Bartoli-Bellorius.)

peace was not definitely secured. Here and there over all Germany the torch of war flamed forth anew. In 178 we see Aurelius again standing in the temple of Bellona, preparatory to setting out with his youthful son, Commodus, to the seat of trouble. Owing to the advance of the frontiers of Dacia and Pannonia, the Empire had no longer a natural boundary-line. Marcus Aurelius, therefore, began to contemplate a plan for converting the conquered, but not yet thoroughly subjugated, countries into Roman provinces, and thereby acquiring the natural fastnesses in the Carpathians, the Erzgebirge, and the Bohemian forest, as bulwarks against the inroads of roving tribes. Ere he could execute his scheme, he laid aside forever the cares of Empire, in Vindobona (Vienna), before he had reached his sixtieth year.

Under his successor, Commodus, the plans of Aurelius became fantastic visions, and men dreamed of conquering all Germany up to the Baltic. But, in reality, Rome was sick of the war, as were the peoples on the Danube. Conditions of peace were easily arranged, and Germany secured a rest of long continuance. The exuberant energies of her sons were diverted into other channels—on the one hand, by grants of lands; on the other, by enrolment in the Roman army.

So ended the great Marcomannian war, after it had raged, with occasional lulls, for fifteen years. In the period of repose which followed, Germany gained strength for new enterprises. The sharp distinction between barbarians and Romans became gradually less and less marked; numerous German contingents streamed in to fill up the vacancies in the Roman army; and already the depopulation of the provinces had become quite sensible—a circumstance also favorable to the barbarian element.

The consequence was that the army of the provinces, instead of the people, became the main-stay of imperial rule. As soon as the army of the provinces realized this fact, it asserted its power, and, in opposition to the Praetorians, elevated to the purple its commander, Septimius Severus, who has been called the founder of the military monarchy. He appears to have undertaken a general reorganization of the German frontier-roads, especially of these on the Danube. To this he was induced by what was going on in Germany in connection with the development of the before-mentioned new folk-groups. In 213 the Alamanni appeared threateningly on the Rhaetian *limes*. Caracalla (Fig. 55) took the field against them, but what little he effected was more through gold than the sword. At all events, they remained quiet for a time. Still, according to a disputed tradition, it was in store for this emperor to find the Goths a few years later on the Black Sea. In their long wanderings southward, probably forced onward by the Slavs, they had at length reached the mouths of the Danube, and spread themselves over the sea-coast.

In the reign of Alexander Severus (third in succession to Caracalla), a dangerous enemy to Rome appeared in the new Persian empire of the Sassanians. When engaged in hostilities against this foe, tidings reached Alexander of an uprising of the Germans on the Rhine and the Danube. So imminent seemed the danger that he forthwith left the East and hastened to the Rhine. In the conflicts that ensued, the multifarious elements constituting the Roman army showed themselves to be so unreliable, that recourse was again had to gold in order to secure peace. The conditions of matters in the East contributed to the adoption of this humiliating expedient. Alexander was about to transfer the western legions thither, when a mutiny broke out, in the course of which he was slain near Mayence, and Maximinus (Fig. 56) attained the purple (A.D. 235). The new emperor was born in Thrace, of a Gothic



FIG. 55.—Caracalla. Marcus AVRELIus ANTONINVS PIVS AVGVSTVS BRITannicus. (Berlin.)

father and Alan mother, and thus represented the barbarian element by which the legions were permeated. Through him—the martial son of a



FIG. 36. MAXIMINUS.
c. 235-238. Inscribed:
IMPERATOR MAXI-
MINVS PIVS AV-
GVSTVS. (Imhoof-
Blumer.)

German peasant—the war was inspired with new life. He reinforced and disciplined the army, and crossing the Rhine at Mayence with a mighty force, marched along the northern side of the *limes* and the Danube till he reached Pannonia, devastating the hostile lands with fire and sword. He fixed his winter-quarters near Sirmium. This ably conceived and conducted campaign sufficed to secure long peace from the Alamanni. In the midst of plans for an expedition to the Baltic, an anti-Caesar appeared,

civil war broke out, and Maximinus was murdered near Aquileia.

All this time there was a ferment on the frontiers. The new tribal group of the Franks displayed its youthful strength and martial spirit along the Middle Rhine, but received a bloody rebuff near Mayence. On the Lower Rhine, the commotion among the Gothic swarms became more and more intense. They made themselves masters of a part of the Empire lying on the Bosphorus with its rich cities, and overflowed the north coast of the Black Sea and the Crimean Peninsula. Here, they soon showed themselves to be as formidable foes as the Alamanni and Franks in the West. Their strength seems to have been considerably enhanced during the reign of their king Ostrogotha, by his bringing a number of the neighboring weaker tribes so far at least into subjection that he was able to recruit his host from them.

The causes that impelled the Goths to invade the Empire were probably much the same as those that set other tribes in motion—insufficient means of subsistence, pressure of more powerful neighbors, and unrecorded occurrences within the tribes themselves. As a yet more immediate motive we notice the discontinuance of the yearly money-grants which had kept the Goths well disposed and had induced many of their warriors to enter the Roman army. The dissensions among the Romans themselves undoubtedly co-operated. We find, for example, that Lucius Priscus, governor of Macedonia, in his rebellion against the Emperor Decius, called on the Goths for support.

In 238, the Goths for the first time passed the Danube. The boy-emperor, Gordian, was styled their conqueror. Fresh inroads followed, and in 248 or 249, during the reign of the Arabian Philip, their king Ostrogotha stood on Roman soil. According to a legendary account, his host numbered 300,000 armed men, without counting his auxiliaries. This was the dismal reverse to the jubilee of the millenary of the Empire, then

being celebrated. The Goths ravaged Moesia, and the important city of Marcianopolis was saved from them only by gold. Their return was due partly to the exertions of the emperor, but, probably, more to a hostile advance of the Gepidae, who then occupied Dacia or modern Transylvania. A great, but indecisive, battle was fought between these two kindred peoples, and shortly thereafter Ostrogotha died. His successor, Kniva, renewed the war against the Empire, now torn with civil strife. The Goths entered it in two mighty hordes, of which the one devastated the level country, while the other crossed the Balkans, defeated the Emperor Decius, and plundered Philippopolis with circumstances of horrible atrocity. A hundred thousand captives are said to have fallen into their hands. Thrace and Macedonia were next harried. Immense masses of troops were led against them, only to see their emperor fall and themselves compelled to retreat. The new emperor, Gallus, concluded a scandalous peace, by which the Goths were permitted to retire unmolested over the Danube, carrying with them incalculable booty, and a guarantee for the resumption of the annual money-grants. Necessity compelled Gallus to do this, for to all other afflictions was added that of a terrible plague, of fifteen years' duration, that left no part of the empire unscoured, desolating whole cities. What wonder that the barbarians availed themselves of the calamities of their foe? Again their hordes swarmed over the Danube, laying waste the land with fire and sword, even to the sea. It was only by a determined advance upon their homesteads, led by Aemilian, governor of Pannonia, that they felt themselves constrained to return. Aemilian was saluted by the army as emperor, but within a few months was murdered by his own troops, when Valerian remained sole monarch of the Empire. This emperor, now advanced in life, delegated the care of the West to his son Gallienus, while he reserved the East for himself. Their generals, Aurelian and Probus, covered the Upper and Middle Danube. The province of Dacia was essentially lost to Rome forever. There now intervened a short lull in the conflict on the Upper Danube, but similar movements broke forth all the more strongly in the East and West. The Goths took to the sea, and the Black Sea and the far Aegean shuddered as they saw, for the first time, the "black ships" of these old Baltic coast-folk. For long these seas had been the haunts of pirates; but these rovers shunned attacks on great cities or encounters with troops. It was different with the Goths and their German allies from the north coast. The Goths and their allies compelled the Greek cities on the Bosphorus to deliver up their ships, and built new ones—sometimes only swift corsair-canoes, with sides of wicker-work made water-tight with pitch, and manned by from 25 to 50

1000. Trebizond and Pityus were stormed; Chalcedon, Nicaea, Nicomedia, fell into their hands almost without resistance. In the time of Gallienus



FIG. 57.—SILVER COIN OF GALLIENUS. VICTORIA GERMANICA. Victory advances over the globe, which typifies universal power; two captives (Berlin).

(Fig. 57) one of their fleets of 1000 sail entered the Archipelago, plundered Ephesus, and gave the famous temple of Diana to the flames. Some years later the barbarians landed at Heraclaea and roamed through Bithynia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia.

About the same time, the torch of war blazed forth in the West. From 253–256, the Germans kept pouring over the Rhine, and spread themselves over Gaul. Only by the strongest efforts could they be checked or driven back. Some bands stormed over the Pyrenees; when Spain, too, and especially the fertile region of Tarragona, felt their heavy hands. Thence they crossed even into Africa. Other swarms were harrying Italy, and threatened Rome. The Senate was obliged to call every able-bodied citizen to arms. Not till the ruthless plunderers had ravaged Northern and Middle Italy was Gallienus able to bring them to bay and overthrow them at Milan. Matters went no better in Illyria and Pannonia. There, after many fierce encounters, the emperor was able to become master of the situation only by ceding lands in Pannonia to the German king Attalus. Attalus was father of Pipa, of whom the emperor became so passionately enamored, that he took her for his second wife.

In this terrible time Rome's sovereignty was shaken to its foundations. The barbarians stormed forward; the plague desolated the land; in the far East, Valerian was a prisoner in the hands of rulers of the new Persian kingdom. Anti-Caesars arose on all sides, whose only aim was the gratification of personal ambition. Gallienus was too weak for the crisis. In the powerless condition of the state and army, even capacity and energy availed nothing.

It was no little benefit to the West, that Postumus (Figs. 58, 59), a man of vigor and formerly governor of Gaul, was one of these anti-Caesars, and that he maintained himself in the purple for seven years. Cologne rose to be the capital of his home



FIGS. 58, 59.—POSTUMUS. A gold coin minted in Cologne, in 262 A. D. Obv., profile of POSTVMVS AVGVSTVS, with helmet decorated with a ram's head, and a Victory with biga, or two-horse chariot. Rv., Victoria GERMANICA, Pontifex Maximus TRIBVNICA POTESTATE V. CONSUL III. PATER PATRIÆ. (Berlin.)

dominion, to which he annexed Spain and Britain. He drove back the Germans, and covered his frontier by intrenchments along the Rhine. He even won over the Franks, and their sons soon became the very flower of his troops.

Rhaetia was for the most part lost to Rome, and fell into the hands of the Alamanni; and the Tithe-land was finally cleared of its owners. The last Roman inscription to be found there bears date 268. When the robber-swarms saw that Gaul was strongly protected, they crowded southward into Italy, "The Mistress of the Nations." Having again crossed the Brenner Pass, they suffered a bloody defeat at the hands of the Emperor Claudius; but still over the bodies of the slain new masses pressed forward, till Aurelian set bounds to their advances.

In 267, Postumus was murdered by his own men, and the Germans at once advanced over the Rhine, plundering and devastating at will. In Gaul, everywhere, was confusion worse confounded. At length Tetricus, governor of Aquitania, was saluted as emperor. He managed to maintain himself as sovereign of the West till, in 274, he submitted to Aurelian.

It went no better elsewhere. Wild swarms of Goths swept through Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula. About 266, bands of Heruli and Goths sailed forth from the sea of Azov, in a fleet of 500 sail, and surprised Byzantium. Driven thence, they landed at Cyzicus, wasted Lemnos, and plundered European Greece. In Illyria they came in contact with kindred rapacious Gothic bands, who had stormed overland from the Danube. A fierce struggle ensued, and the pirates were forced to retreat.

In such circumstances, the jubilee celebrated by Gallienus on the tenth anniversary of his accession was little better than a mockery. Everything was out of joint. Dissensions within and disasters abroad had brought the Empire to the verge of ruin. West Europe was in the hands of a usurper; the East was all but lost; no place was safe from onslaughts of the barbarians; nowhere was there any firmly-fixed central power.

At length, when need was the greatest, such a power was inaugurated by the accession of Claudius II., the first of the Illyrian Caesars. The Senate greeted him with the bodeful words: "Rescue us! Free us!"

In 268, while occupied in Italy, he received tidings that the Goths and neighbor-tribes were approaching by land and water, to the number of no less than 300,000 warriors, with their serfs, wives, and children. A great horde after sailing along the coast of Thrace, entered the Archi-

pelago, and besieged Thessalonica and Cassandria (Fig. 60). As they did not meet with the success they expected, a part took again to ship, to make descents upon the isles of the Eastern Mediterranean—Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete. Repulsed here also, the great mass fought their way inland through Macedonia into Western Moesia. The emperor met and defeated them at Naissus, in the valley of the Morava, in the north of modern Servia. With heavy heart he had set out to meet the foe, and had written the Senate: "The Republic is exhausted; scarcely, longer, have we weapons for attack or defence."



FIG. 60.—Ruins of the temple of Zeus at Nemea in Greece, destroyed by the Barbarians.
(From a photograph.)

Yet, after his victory, he knew well how to improve it. He left the fugitives no breathing-space, but pressed on to annihilate them. The number of captives was such that the men were spread over wide stretches of country as slaves, while the women were distributed among the soldiery. In somewhat boastful words he reported: "Three hundred and twenty thousand Goths have we annihilated; the rivers and coasts are covered with shields, swords, and spears; in the fields the soil cannot be seen for carcasses; no way is free from dead; the terrible Wagenburg (Wagon-stronghold) is desolate."

His success, though great, was somewhat less than he represented. Individual sections managed to make their escape, and one of them forced their way as freebooters through Thrace and even threatened Nicopolis. The emperor himself may be said to have fallen a victim to his success. He succumbed to the plague (Fig. 61).

In his stead the legions raised their ablest leader, Aurelian, to the purple—a man who for years had been decidedly prominent; of a stringent, soldierly, manful character; keen in thought, prompt in action. For him it was reserved to consolidate the empire within, and secure it from without.

The Germans were once more on the war-path in Pannonia. After a stern conflict with them there, protracted even into the night, Aurelian hurried to the defence of Italy, threatened by the Alamanni and their neighbor-tribes. Among these the Juthungi came for the first time into view in the full pride of German heroism. Like the Alamanni and Marcomanni, they were an offshoot from the great Suevian group, and probably a branch of the Alamanni, in which they later merged again. When they learned that Aurelian was approaching, they turned back; but not so quickly but that they were overtaken, and part cut down and part driven forth from their homes. In their necessity they had recourse to negotiations; further tribute was denied them, but they were permitted to return to their homes. They were benefited by an irruption of the Vandals into Pannonia, which appears to have taken place at this time.

Of this people—the Vandals—one tribe had, in the time of Marcus Aurelius, entered into an alliance with the Romans and had been permitted to settle in Dacia. There, their concessions were sufficiently ample and fertile to keep them for a long period tolerably loyal to the Empire. But now they, or one of their branches, were infected by the general spirit of unrest, and it was probably with them that the stubborn all-day fight, above referred to, took place. At all events, both parties were soon well-contented to make peace, and the Vandals returned to their former friendly relations with Rome, contributing 2000 horsemen to the imperial army.

Soon were the peoples on the Upper Danube, especially the Alamanni and the Marcomanni, again in motion. They scaled the Alps, and harried North Italy mercilessly. Near Placentia (Piacenza) Aurelian, while preparing to offer them open fight, was attacked in the dusk of

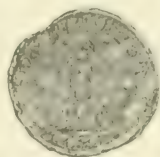


FIG. 61.—Copper coin of Claudius Gothicus. VICTORIA GOTHICA. (Berlin.)

evening and defeated with serious loss. The district of Milan suffered greatly, and, once more, Rome began to dread an onslaught of barbarians. The Senate, in its dismay, consulted the Sibylline books; the emperor kept the field, unshaken, and his manful spirit was rewarded by his compelling the foe to retreat after several victorious conflicts. The new walls which shortly thereafter began to encircle Rome testify to the feeling of insecurity on the banks of the Tiber.

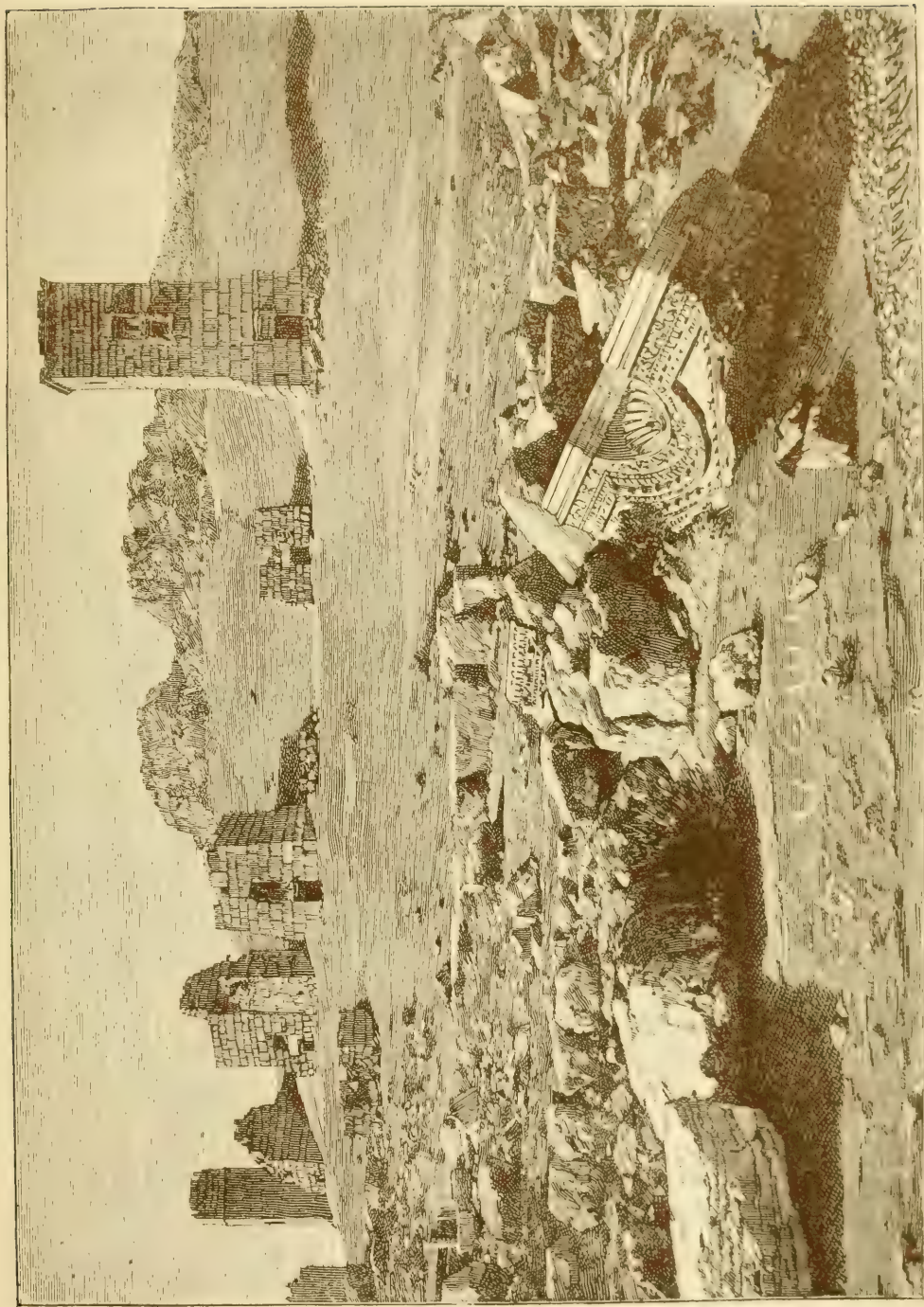
For a short period the power of the Empire so preponderated over that of the Alamanni and Marcomanni that Aurelian felt himself free to turn his attention to Zenobia, who held independent court at Palmyra in Syria (PLATE XV., and Fig. 62). On his march thither, he fell in with Gothic hordes in Illyria and Thrace, which he overthrew and pursued over the Danube.

After Palmyra and Egypt had been subdued, Tetricus—the last independent potentate in the Empire—was compelled to submission, and the Germans were pushed back all along the Rhine. Aurelian, in 274, celebrated all his successes in one magnificent triumph. His chariot was drawn by four stags once owned by a Gothic king. The conquered peoples followed in long procession: along with the fair-haired Germans marched the dusky sons of Ethiopia and Arabia; the bowed figure of Zenobia was seen beside that of Tetricus of Gaul; and Gothic heroines were there in male attire, who had stood in the fight beside their husbands. A stately pillared temple arose, dedicated to the Sun, Aurelian's patron divinity; while the hero himself received the well-earned title of "Restorer of the Empire." Not long was he to enjoy his honors. He marched to Gaul; cleared Vindelicia—a part of the Tithe-land—of its barbarian invaders; and, finally, set forth against the Persians. On the march he fell (A. D. 275) by the hand of an assassin.

Aurelian restored the unity and prestige of the Empire. The Rhine constituted the boundary on the west; the half-lost region between the Danube and the Alps was reincorporated; and the Danube, along its entire course, was re-established as the north boundary, Dacia being given up, and its inhabitants transferred to the right bank.

To the aged Tacitus, who chastised the German bands that infested Asia Minor, succeeded the warlike Probus, a man such as the strenuous time demanded; for scarcely had the news of Aurelian's death gone forth, when the Rhine peoples—wave after wave in mightiest force—overflowed Gaul in all directions. Probus hurried to stay the flood with a powerful army, and drove the invaders back after many a well-fought field, retrieving the booty they had seized. He then set to work to complete Aurelian's well-devised system of defence.

PLATE XV.



Towers used as Tombs: Palmyra. The one on the right is eighty feet high.
(From a photograph.)

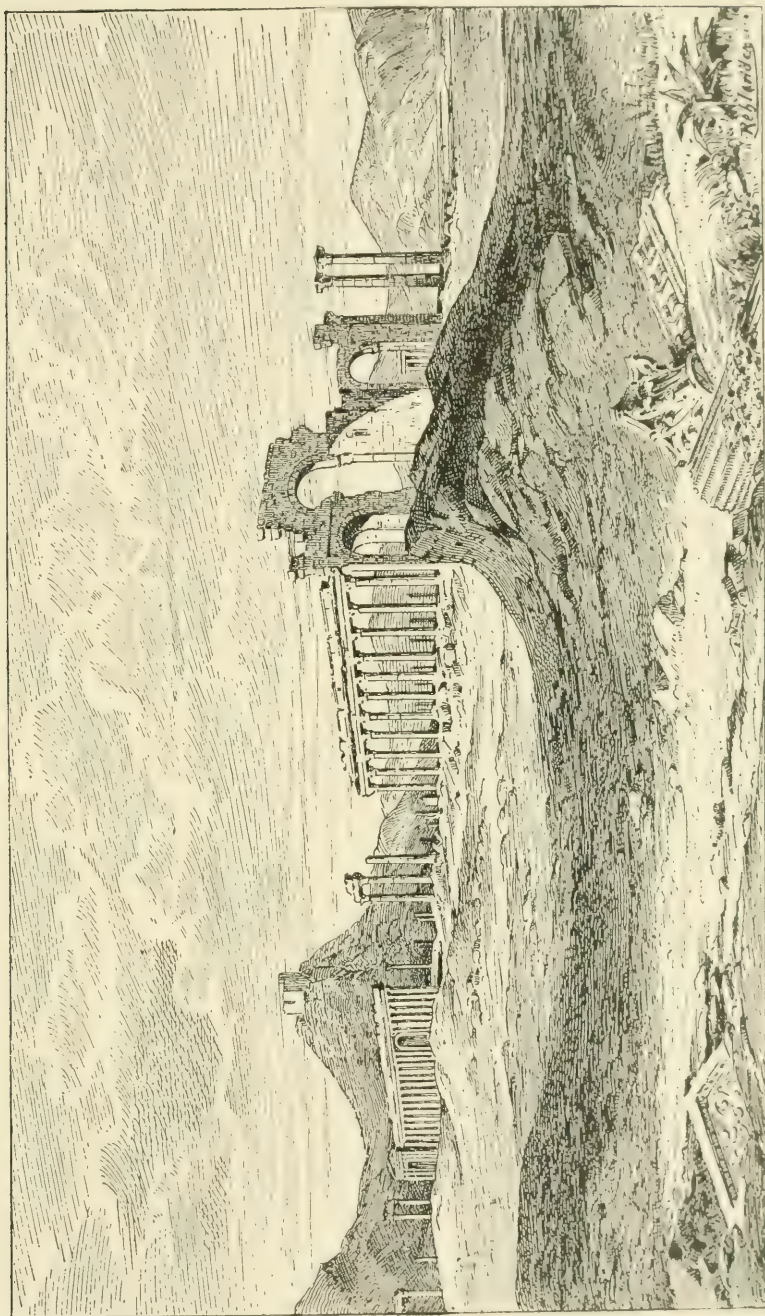


FIG. 62.—Ruins of Palmyra. (From Chesney.)

The Tithes-land was more closely united with the Empire, and in such a way apparently, that the Alamanni were allowed to remain in it under Roman authority. Lands were granted to the garrisons of the forts along the *limes*, which was now strengthened. The line of fortifications on the Upper Neckar not improbably was also originated by Probus. Treaties were concluded with nine Alamannian petty kings whose domains lay partly within the *limes*, on the terms that they should contribute 16,000 auxiliaries to the army, and further constitute themselves a sort of advance guard of the Empire. Alliances of the same character, though somewhat less stringent, were entered into with the Franks, Goths, and other tribes, on the Danube; and Roman warships cruised on this river and on the Rhine.

Meanwhile the weapons did not cease to clash. Imperial generals fought successfully against the Franks; the emperor himself was not less fortunate in his conflicts on the Main and the Danube with the Vandals and Burgundians. This latter name, afterwards well known, we meet with here for the first time. The people comprehended by it had their original settlements between the Oder and the Vistula, but, like their neighbors, had gradually worked their way toward the south and southwest.

With the view of still more effectively stemming the tide of German invasion by utilizing the Germans as a border-guard, Probus settled certain of them in masses on the Roman territory adjoining the frontiers—the Bastarnæ and Goths on the Lower Danube, and the Franks in Britain as a guard against the Caledonians—his object in all these arrangements being to interpose a defensive zone between the Empire proper and the restless German hordes. In every case he was careful so to distribute these half-adopted colonists as to minimize the risk of their asserting their independence as the Batavian cohorts had done. So confident was Probus of the success of his whole scheme of frontier-defence and “barbarization” of the army, that he boasted that the day would shortly come when the state would need no soldiers. His confidence was premature. From so-called defenders of the Empire, the Goths developed into mere freebooters, till the emperor brought them to reason.

The peculiar spirit of adventure innate in the German nature was well exemplified in one particular band of Franks. They had marched with the legions far along the eastern shores of the Black Sea. There they seized a number of ships, and entering the Mediterranean, plundered its coasts as far as the Straits of Gibraltar. Thence, they coasted northward along the shores of Spain and Gaul till they reached their homes on the Rhine.

Next to Aurelian, Probus (Fig. 63) was the greatest organizer of the state in its relations to the Germans. In addition to the scheme of border-defence above outlined, he further realized Aurelian's ideas by strengthening the frontier with garrisoned forts and boundary-wall, and, above all, by guarding it with a well-disciplined efficient army. But protracted toil on the earthworks near Sirmium embittered the temper of his soldiers, and they mutinied and slew their hero.



FIG. 63.—The Emperor Probus. Antique bust in Naples. (From a photograph.)

All this time of storm and conflict had not passed without introducing great changes in the condition of the German tribes. Those remaining in the North were still in a condition not greatly removed from that described by Tacitus—especially the Saxons, whose wealth still continued to consist of cattle. It was otherwise with the Goths, among whom a sort of monarchical government had developed itself, yet in such a way that their kings were monarchs only during their wanderings or in time of war. The dignity did not attach to any one family; several had a kind of claim to it, especially the Balts and Amals. They were, moreover, scarcely yet sedentary in their new and widely-scattered settlements.

Great bands lightly swarmed off and roamed far and wide as freebooters; at other times they emigrated with wives and children to seek new homes on the older cultured lands of the Empire.

It was otherwise, again, with the Alamanni and Franks. They remained fast in their own lands, hemmed in, on the one side, by the Roman frontier, on the other, by the Saxons, Burgundians, and other peoples. By pure necessity they were driven to agriculture and rude handicrafts. Primitive agriculture gave way to the three-field system, and the free farmer labored among his serfs. They either continued in their old localities, or, as in Noricum and the Tithe-land, advanced their settlements gradually. But, withal, the soil did not yield them adequate subsistence. Side by side with the industrious peasant-proprietors there grew up a landless, turbulent class, who thought little of storming forth on marauding expeditions, to return home laden with spoils from the rich lands of the Empire.

The German children of nature had become sensible of the charms of gold, and had yielded themselves to it with the unbridled impulse of barbarians, without exactly knowing what to do with their rich booty. Their avidity was stimulated by their lust for wandering and adventure, by the allurements of the beautiful southern lands with their blue skies, their richly-peopled cities, their magnificent edifices, and their luxurious civilization. What wonder that the susceptible sons of the forest pressed constantly farther and farther forward, and, moth-like, made ever for the light, without a suspicion that it was certain to singe their wings!

CHAPTER VII.

THE REIGNS OF DIOCLETIAN AND CONSTANTINE.

(A.D. 283-337.)

THE death of the dreaded Emperor Probus was a disaster for the Empire. Franks and Alamanni again pressed forward; the *limes* which had restrained the latter people became obliterated. The Upper Rhine and Danube became then the boundary line, which, however, slowly receded southward toward the Lake of Constance. This movement was probably consequent on a prior movement of the Burgundians in the rear of the Alamanni. They had been overthrown and driven forth by the Goths, and, in their search after new seats, had come into collision with the Alamanni. After severe conflicts, they forced the latter toward the south and southwest, while they themselves settled between the Alamanni and the Franks, principally in the Rhine and Spessart mountains, and along the *limes* in the district of the Main.

The catastrophe was hastened by the spasmodic struggles for the throne. The Emperor Carus died in arms against the Persians. The army saluted Diocletian, the leader of the imperial household troops, as his successor. Carinus, son of Carus, contested his claim with varying success, till a sword-stroke of a tribune of the soldiers gave the Empire to Diocletian.

In the Empire, everywhere were disorder and decay. Italy had ceased to be its centre. Bitter necessity compelled the provinces to seek safety and support in themselves. The arable land fell into the hands of speculators and large proprietors. Hunger and exactions drove the Celtic peasantry and the *coloni* of Gaul to despair. They organized themselves into gangs, and the frightful revolt of the Bagaudae burst forth. Burgundians and Alamanni advanced over the Rhine, and other German peoples showed themselves on Roman soil. Diocletian felt that he was unequal to the burden he had been called on to assume, and elevated his old companion in arms, Maximian, to the dignity of Caesar and the regency of Gaul and the Western Provinces. Partly through force, partly through concessions, Maximian succeeded in prevailing on the Bagaudae to lay down their arms; the Burgundians, too, were compelled to withdraw; while the Heruli and Chaibonians, whom the inexhaustible North had sent forth, were all but annihilated.

Rest was not yet secured. The peoples on the Rhine were still uneasy. In the beginning of 287, hostile bands of Franks advanced on Treves. Encouraged by dissensions among this people, Maximian ventured across the Rhine and restored an expelled king—a movement with which an attempt of Diocletian, upon the part of Rhaetia seized by the Alamanni, seems to have been connected. The result probably was the conclusion of a peace. On the Danube and on the Rhine, the movements of the Germans became much more cautious, so that a period of comparative quiet set in for the Empire, promoted, partly, by dissensions among the Germans themselves, partly, there is reason to believe, by Roman gold. We hear of conflicts between the Western Goths, in alliance with the Taifalae, against the Vandals and Gepidae, and of sallies by the Alamanni to recover the land seized from them by the Burgundians; but the gross result was, for the frontier at all events, more favorable than anything that could be attained through the legions.

Unfortunately our authorities for this period are altogether unsatisfactory—bald epitomists, fanatical churchmen, and sycophantic panegyrists—who in a cloud of bombast tell of Roman victories, so many and so overwhelming, that we can only wonder how any Germans at all were left alive to conquer or to kill.

While there was, thus, comparative peace on the southern frontier, a movement of a novel character set in on the north coast. The Franks and Saxons began to take to the sea, and to ravage the coasts as far as Brittany. Maximian, fully occupied on the Rhine, set the Menapian Carausius at the head of a fleet, who, indeed, swept the sea of the pirates, but kept their booty for himself. Having thus put his life in danger, he passed over to Britain, where he was saluted as Caesar, maintaining himself in the dignity till his death, nearly ten years later. A true sea-king he was, who, with his German comrades, harried the coasts of the continent as far as Spain, and maintained an absolute supremacy on the ocean.

Meanwhile, the Alamanni and Franks were pushing forward, not now as warriors, but as peasant settlers. In vain did Maximian endeavor to re-establish the Rhaetian wall as the boundary: the *Tithe-land* came to be more and more known as "*Alamannia*," and, by the end of the Third Century, the Black Forest was essentially German. Strengthened by their alliance with Carausius, the Franks acquired the region at the mouths of the Rhine, absorbing the now strongly Romanized Batavi. They pressed still farther toward the south and southwest, and in the Fourth Century we find Franks and Alamanni settled in large communities on the left of the Rhine, and the Saxons making their way toward the districts deserted by the Franks. The control of Rome

over the immigrants and their kings faded by degrees, or vanished altogether.

The increasing stress of public cares and manifold distracting interests moved Diocletian to increase the number of his regents. In 292, he named Constantius Chlorus as Caesar for Gaul, Spain, and revolted Britain; Maximian received Italy and Africa; and Galerius, the Balkan Peninsula. He himself remained in the East.

Constantius had the heaviest task. He declared war on Carausius and his allies; defeated him near Boulogne, and led his legions thence to the mouths of the Rhine, without, however, effecting a lasting success. A large portion of the Frank settlers seem to have been transferred by him to Gaul, where wide stretches lay desolate owing to the Bagaudian war and to the prevailing depopulation. This expedient, like a two-edged sword, cut both ways—instead of Romanizing the Germans, he rather Germanized the territory of Rome.

Nor was his work lighter as regarded the Alamanni. In the last years of the Third Century these people had pressed forward to the sources of the Seine. Near Langres, a protracted fight took place between them and the Caesar, which ultimately ended in favor of the Romans. Sixty thousand men lay dead on the field. At Windisch on the Aar, Constantius won a second victory, and then, crossing the Rhine, led his victorious legions to Donaufurt, near Günzburg. An immense mass of Germans of various races is said to have pushed over the frozen Rhine to an island in the stream. Thereafter, a sudden thaw set in rendering return impossible, when it was easy to compel the starving wretches to surrender at discretion.

Finally, in 306, Constantius overthrew the successor of Carausius, along with his allied Germans, in Britain, and so put an end to piratical expeditions from that country. One section of the Franks, cut off from the main body in this decisive fight, was caught just in time to prevent them from plundering London.

Thereupon systematic advances seem to have been made against the barbarians on the left of the Rhine. Standing camps were strengthened or new ones built, and here and there pushed forward into the old *limes* borderland. In the Tithe-land, too, Roman supremacy and some shadow of respect for law and rights of property were established, or, at least, an attempt was made to do this. How much was actually accomplished it is difficult to say. In any case, it was the last effort to hold a possession already lost.

All along the Danube the weapons were never laid aside. Wars took place with various peoples—in 289 and 294, with the Sarmatians; in

299, the Marcomanni were humbled; in 294 and 295, the Bastarnae were conquered, and, on being hard pressed by the Goths, they were transferred to Roman territory.

On May 1, 305, came to pass an extraordinary thing. Diocletian



FIG. 64. Roman medal, made of lead. Found in 1862, in the bed of the river Saône. (After Fröhner.) Both scenes refer to the campaign of Maximian in 287 A.D. Above we see the Emperors each with a nimbus and a laurel wreath, in purple togas, sitting upon the curule chairs, and holding a roll in their left hands. From the resemblance to portraits of Diocletian the figure on the left appears to be that ruler; behind him stand two guards with shields and spears. Maximian, at the right, faces a throng of men, women, and children, which his guards appear to have trouble in controlling. The extended right hand of the emperor signifies mercy and favor. The suppliants are doubtless Roman colonists, whose peace has been disturbed by the attacks of the barbarians. *SAECVLI FELICITAS*—"the delight of their time."

In the lower division we have the fortified cities of Mayence (*MOGONTIACVM*) and Castel (*CASTELLUM*), connected by a bridge, which crosses the river Rhine (*FLUMEN RENVVS*). Each end of the bridge is guarded by a tower. (From lack of space only two arches are given.)

The emperor is figured returning to Mayence by the bridge, attended by two winged genii, one of whom lays a wreath of victory on the emperor's head, while the other, with palm branch in her hand, leading a child, doubtless refers to the peace effected by the emperor, and to prisoners by him set free.

renounced the purple, assuming the garb of a private citizen, and compelled his colleague Maximian to the same step (Fig. 64). The Caesars—the energetic Constantius and the warlike but narrow-minded Galerius

—rose to the rank of Augusti or emperors. In their stead Daia Maximinus and the Illyrian Severus were raised to the rank of Cæsar, or Re-

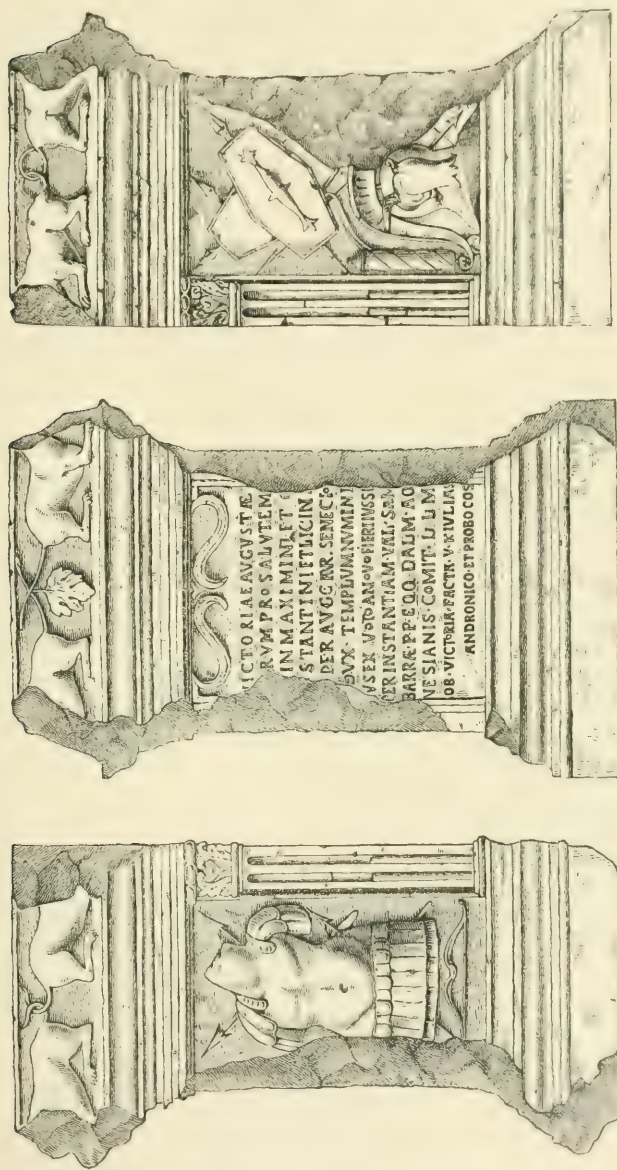


FIG. 65. Roman Monument, in honor of the Cæsars Maximinus, Constantine, and Licinius.

Discovered, in 1848, at Prutting, and now built into the wall of the parish church of that town. Height, 5½ ft. Front and two sides inscribed: VICTORIAE AVGVSTAE SVPER PRO SALVTATE DOMINORVM NN OSTORVM MAXIMINI ET CONSTANTINI ET LICINI SEMPER AVGVSTORVM AVRELIVS SENEGIO VIR PERFECTISSIMVS DVX TEMPLVM NVMINI CIVIS EX VOVO A NOVO FIERI IVSSIT PER INSTANTIAM VALERII SAMBARRAE Praefpositi Equitibus DALMATIS AQVETIANIS COMITATENSIBVS Lætus Libens Merito OB VICTORIA FACTA V Kalendas IVLIAS ANDRONICO ET PROBICO Consulibus. Though the date given on the monument is June 27, 310, the monument must have been set up after the death of Galerius (311 A. D.), who otherwise would have been named with the other emperors.

gents—the former for the East, the latter for Italy and Africa. Constantine, the son of Constantius, and Maxentius, son of Maximian,

were passed over. The former, irritated by the slight, hurried to his father in Gaul, whom he accompanied on a victorious campaign against the Caledonians. This was the last public act of the indefatigable Constantine. He died at Eboracum (York), July, 306.

By the voice of the soldiers, Constantine was saluted as emperor; Crocus, an Alamannian king, who, with his people, served as mercenaries in the Roman army, being the main author of the movement. Galerius deemed it advisable to put a good face on the matter, and acknowledged him as the "Second Caesar." This Constantine, whom history styles



FIG. 66.—Bear-baiting in the arena. From the diptych of the Consul Arcobindus, lower part of the second leaf (see Fig. 67). Here is represented the so-called *Venatio*, in which animals were baited in various ways. At the lower right hand corner, a *Bestiarius* is mounted on a sort of turnstile, but has been caught by the bear. A second contestant holds high a lasso, while a third leaps over an approaching bear. Above, another *Bestiarius*, carrying a scarf, like the first, which was waved before the animals, seeks to escape from a third bear. In the background stands a cage with closed doors; at the right is another cage with open door, near which stands the *Magister*. The awkward figures at the left are perhaps stuffed figures used to excite the animals, or are rudely represented attendants. The two circles, stamped with a cross, have not been explained.

"The Great," was a man of noble presence, of great strength of body and mind, of unbounded energy, a subtle diplomatist, a thorough judge of men, and imbued with insatiable ambition. His consecration as ruler he sought to win on the battlefield, and renewed outbreaks of the restless Germans soon afforded him the desired occasion. A band of Franks again stormed forward. These he attacked in the rear, and made most

of them prisoners. Their kings, Ascaric and Giso, were, as a warning to others, thrown to wild beasts during the celebration of games at Treves. The Franks and Alamanni now combined for a joint attack. Constantine (Fig. 65) crossed the Main, and, through artifice, overthrew the Frankish Bructeri, mercilessly wasting their land with fire and sword. Men and women were sent to Treves to share the fate of the two kings. Their number, says a panegyrist, was so great that the very wild beasts became tired of the bloody work (Figs. 66, 67).

This ruthlessness was not without effect, especially as it was accompanied by great exertions on the part of the military power. Along all the left bank of the Rhine, trustworthy legions and garrisoned forts stood in threatening array, while the stream itself was alive with ships of war. At Cologne, Constantine erected a noble stone bridge which defied the floods till the time of Otto I. While the Rhine was thus held fast as a boundary, the Tithe-land was given up. Through forbearance he won comparative rest from the Alamanni, only to let the Franks feel his hand all the more heavily. Important strategic points appear to have been held on the right bank of the Rhine and on the left bank of the Danube. This was essential to his system of defending the Empire by making sallies into the country of the enemy. One feature in his system of border-defence was its permanence. Even when Constantine marched to Italy, he left three-fourths of his strength on the Rhine. The Empire was encompassed by an impenetrable girdle, and was further secured, on the outside, by treaties effected through Roman gold and Roman policy. The martial spirit of the Germans was also turned to account, for the sons of the forest, no longer able to find scope for their energies in fighting Rome, streamed into the legions in unwonted numbers. Their brothers on the left bank of the Rhine appear to have been either driven forth, or, as a rule, to have been adopted as subjects of the Empire.

Yet the ferment had not entirely worked itself out in Germany. Inroads continued to be made, but dread lamed their strength, so that it used to be said proudly, that the Roman peasant on the left Rhine-bank could plough his fields and pasture his herds in peace. A yearly festival, under the name of the Frankish games, was instituted, and Constantine assumed the cognomen of "*Francicus*," i. e., conqueror of the Franks.

In the meantime, the confusion in the Empire had reached its acme. The Empire lost cohesion and fell apart into four monarchies, till the most unscrupulous of all its rulers restored its unity. At the Saxa Rubra and on the Mulvian bridge near Rome, Constantine triumphed over Maxentius, mainly through the valor of his German auxiliaries. Licinius, the



FIG. 67. The Diptych of the Consul Areobindus. Zurich, Public Library. Reliefs on the first leaf. (After S.Vögelin.) The five holes at the left correspond to similar holes in the second leaf: through them thongs were passed to serve as hinges. The inscription reads: FL. AREOB. ADGAL. AREOBINDVS. VL., or Flavius Areobindus Adgalaiphus (probably a mistake for Dagalaiphus), Areobindus, Vir Illustris. The official is represented in his consular robe, the embroidered toga. Under the tunic is the shoulder-scarf (*superhumerales*, *omophorion*), which consists of two broad bands, that come together on the breast, one of which reaches to his feet: this can be distinguished, in the cut, from the toga by the pattern and by the double edging. The third garment is the sleeved tunic, its seams round the neck and the bottom embroidered with a palmetto design. The patterns on each of these three garments are different. On his feet Areobindus wears the *calcei consulares*, held in place by thongs which cross each other at the instep. The height of the *sella curulis*, itself adorned with two Victories, makes necessary a footstool.—In his right hand the Consul holds the *mappa*, a folded cloth; it was used by the preceding official to give the signal for beginning the festivities. In his left hand he carries a sceptre, the upper part of which consists of an eagle surrounded by a laurel wreath, and the figure of a warrior standing, who carries a shield and spear, the latter now lost. Behind the Consul stand two attendants. The heads are hardly portraits. Such was the demand for these tablets, that they were kept in stock by their engravers, and supplied with inscriptions, as they were sold.

On the other leaf the diptych of the Consul is represented in duplicate; hence not here repeated. Below, however, are scenes from various games with which the Consul had celebrated his administration. Spectators look across an ornamental balustrade into the

Augustus of the Balkan Peninsula, prevailed over Maximinus, ruler of the eastern division, till, in 323, he too laid down his arms, and submitted his neck to the executioner. A period of peace now dawned. For fourteen years the sceptre lay at rest in the hands of the usurper, who robbed Rome of the last gleam of its glory when he transferred the seat of empire to Byzantium. By the partition of the Empire into four prefectures, he combined in his system of government flexibility with firmness, while he concentrated the supreme power in himself.

The Germans made repeated attempts to turn these changes to their advantage. When Constantine was busy in Italy, the Franks appear to have formed a great confederation, and, under chosen leaders, crossed the Rhine in 313. With unlooked-for speed Constantine was on the spot, and checking the invaders with his fleet drove them asunder. He then landed on their side of the Rhine and brought them to terrible account. Again sorrowful processions of prisoners filled the road to Treves, there to be thrown to wild beasts (Fig. 67).

The effects of this terrible severity lasted till the winter of 320, when Constantine's son had to take the field against new robber-bands, as well as against the Alamanni.

Long had the Sarmatians and Goths remained quiet. From 319 to 321, the former appeared in Pannonia and Moesia, but were defeated and their king was slain. The withdrawal of the yearly money-grant and donations in kind, drove the Goths, in 322, to war. They too were driven back, and Constantine, conscious of his power, deemed it expedient to conciliate them by embassies. Toward the end of his life, his son, Constantine, invaded the country of the Goths—probably Moldavia and Wallachia. One hundred thousand lives were sacrificed. Soon thereafter the emperor, within the territory of the Empire, received 300,000 Sarmatians who could not maintain themselves at home.

If we compare the administration of Constantine with that of earlier times, we cannot but recognize that great results were attained. Over the Rhine and Danube the Roman eagle again soared with wings of unbroken strength. The boundaries of the Empire were sharply defined and maintained inviolate. From a humane point of view, Constantine's Titanic figure may appear repulsive; yet his very inhumanity was practical, and enabled him to effect what he aimed at. He perceived that

arena. Here, we see four gladiators contending with as many lions; they wear short breeches, which leave the knees bare; the skin and feet have a special protection. The body above the waist is naked except that a piece of leather hangs on part of the chest. In the rear, stands the *Magister*, or *Exercitator bestiariorum*, urging on the contests. The cages of the lions are indicated by the open doors at the right and left.

the sole agent that could control the barbarians was terror, and of this agent he availed himself unscrupulously, yet in the deffest manner. Probus had endeavored to defend the Empire by playing off Germans against Germans; Constantine effected his purpose by relying on the military power of Rome, which, however, the Germans themselves had largely reinforced. The secret of his success lay in the fact that he understood how at once to terrify the barbarians, and engage them in his interests. His watch-words were: Peace and alliance with Rome; submission to Rome or bloody annihilation.

And yet, the worm was at the root. The same Germans that tilled the Roman fields, and carried shield and lance for Roman gold, rose to high rank in the state—in the civil and military services, and even at the court. Soon some were bold enough even to stretch out their hands toward the purple. How near now was the time when they were to elevate themselves to be lords and rulers; when the place of the powerful but fast-fading graybeard was to be filled by the youthful son of the forest in all his exuberant strength!

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TIMES IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING THE IRRUPTION OF THE HUNS.

(A. D. 337-375.).

UNDER Constantine the Empire resumed its old place of power and dignity. It seemed as if he had founded a dynasty, with the succession established in his family. Nations from the remotest parts of the world offered him homage, alike the dusky Ethiopians of the South, and the stalwart, fair-skinned children of the North. This condition was reflected in the rule of his three sons. In the thirteen years of Constantine II.'s government of the West, we hear nothing of renewed trouble with the Germans. It was not till he fell in fratricidal war, and his brother Constans had taken his place, that the Franks and, as it appears, also the Alamanni, made a new advance. This was, however, after varying success, repelled, and the fact that Constans held these turbulent people on the Rhine in awe of him is almost conclusive evidence of his capacity and energy.

It is evident that the iron girdle with which Rome had environed her borders had in it the elements of durability, and who knows how the future might have shaped itself had powerful rulers remained on the throne and succeeded in consolidating the Empire, and settling the succession to the throne? But this was not to be. Destiny must take its course.

The system of defence that held the border peoples fast in their settlements had necessarily put a stop to the great migration-movements in the North. All this was to be changed. Constans fell in a revolt promoted by his general, Magnentius, the son of a German captive, who now assumed the title of Augustus. That had now come to pass toward which the earlier progress of events seemed to trend, but which had been lost sight of in the late newly-developed strength of the Empire. The Germans streamed in masses to the support of their countryman, who, now master of the West, led a Gallo-Germanic army against Constantius II., the last son of Constantine the Great. The conflict between these potentates was really a struggle between Germans and Romans, wherein the seeming paradox showed itself of the Roman Senate taking the side of the usurper, in the hope of restoring to Rome its supremacy over

Constantinople. A decisive battle took place near Mursa (Esseck) on the Drave, in which superior tactics and weapons prevailed over barbaric courage. Twice during the retreat did Magnentius, like a wounded boar, turn round and face his enemy. When he saw all was lost, he threw himself on his sword. His soldiers dispersed and scoured the country as robbers and highwaymen. Neither did the shield of the conqueror remain without a stain. In order to threaten the foe in the rear, he had induced the Alamanni, and probably the Franks, by large gifts, to enter Gaul. In open fight, the Alamannian king, Chnodomar, overthrew the brother of Magnentius—German against German—and wasted the land with fire and sword. The Germans had not yet attained to national consciousness or an idea of community of interests.

Not less clearly did it come to the foreground how low the ancient Roman spirit had sunk. Constantius II. was the first Roman emperor who endeavored to master an enemy by calling in the aid of hostile neighbors—an act grave with consequences, for, when he became sole emperor, he found he had evoked spirits he could not lay. The Germans would not evacuate the country they had seized, and recourse must be had to arms. While his general, Silvanus, a Frank, fought against his own tribesmen, the emperor, in 354, led a strong force against the Alamanni, who had taken up a position on the right bank of the Rhine. An attempt to force the passage of the river miscarried, and as neither party was especially eager for fight, negotiations ensued which led to peace and alliance.

But the peace was only local. Next year the Alamanni on the Lake of Constance penetrated far into Rhaetia, and the emperor advanced against them from Milan. A strong Roman reconnoitring detachment was surprised and beleaguered in its camp by swarms of jeering barbarians, till by a successful sally it not only broke through the enviroing cordon, but compelled the foe to retreat. With this meagre success the emperor was fain to be satisfied.

Silvanus, in the meantime, had fought successfully against the Franks, who were once more in full possession of the Batavian lands, and had dismantled many strong places on the Meuse and Lower Rhine. The courtiers, envious of the brave foreigner's good fortune, calumniated him to the emperor, so that he, threatened in life and limb, made an attempt on the purple. The emperor compassed his death. This murder laid the frontier open, and the Franks at once seized the opportunity, and stormed over the Marne and Seine. Behind these followed, as a rear-guard, the main strength of the German peasantry from all along the Rhine, who, passing over to the left bank, united themselves with the remains of their kindred already settled there. Cologne, the main bul-

wark of the stream, was lost to Rome, and the barriers erected by Constantine disappeared. A contemporary historian says: "The land (hitherto Roman) the Germans occupied as their own, and for its cultivation employed Roman citizens carried off as slaves. Roman forts and towns were demolished, or compelled to find their means of subsistence within the narrowest bounds, while all over Gaul men expected a yet greater irruption of barbarians." For a distance of 130 Roman miles west and south of the Rhine, no man dared to drive out his cattle to pasture.

Constantine saw that alone he was not able to cope with the crisis, and therefore named his relative, Julian, then in his twenty-fifth year, as Caesar, with a commission to recover the banks of the Rhine. With wonderful skill this young man, hitherto merely a student, knew how to adapt himself, despite many impediments, to the requirements of his high office. Bravely he forced his way through roads beset by Germans till he reached Rheims, where he found the main body of the repulsed legions. At their head he threw himself on Cologne, and recaptured and rebuilt it. On his return to winter-quarters at Sens, he was surprised by a horde of Germans and beleaguered for over a month.

His next campaign was directed against the Alamanni on the left bank of the Rhine. Julian's plan was to overwhelm them by a combined



FIG. 68. — Emperor Julian.
Portrait on a gold coin.
Inscribed: FLAVIVS
CLAVDIVS IVLIANVS
PATRIAE FILIVS AVGVSTVS.
(Imhoof-Blumer.)



FIG. 69.—Bronze helmet, probably of the Fourth Century. Found in an affluent of the Seine. (Louvre.)

attack from Rheims and Augst. But Barbatio, commander of the Southern army, allowed a swarm of *Lacti*, or Germano-Roman colonists, who were in alliance with the Alamanni, to pass round his position and throw themselves on the rich city of Lyons. It was, indeed, only with

extreme difficulty that he held his own against them till Julian could come to his relief (Fig. 68). Shortly thereafter another blow followed. Baltho was surprised in his camp by the main force of the Alamanni, and shamefully routed.

Julian let nothing discourage him. He restored the forts in the Vosges, especially the strong Tabernæ in Alsace (Zabern), so as to cover Gaul on this side as well as his own possible retreat. The legions depended for provender on corn grown by the Alamanni in their "new home," Alisat (Alsace), which was now almost entirely in their hands. Both parties recognized that its possession must be determined by the sword. Seven Alamannian kings, with ten chiefs of royal blood, allied themselves under their tried leader, Chnodomar, and took the field with 35,000 men. Defiantly they ordered the Caesar to leave the lands they had subdued with sword and plough. Julian, detaining their ambassadors in his camp, advanced against them, having his new fortresses in his rear.

Not far from Strasburg he came in sight of the enemy. The sun had already risen red over the heights across the Rhine, as the Roman host, with clang of trumpet, slowly took up its position—the infantry in the centre, the cavalry on the flanks, the mailed horsemen being on the right wing. The Germans did not present a simple, unbroken front, but were arranged into several wedge-formed battalions. Their left wing was commanded by Chnodomar, easily distinguishable by his gleaming armor and rich head-dress (cf. Fig. 69). In his hand he brandished a mighty spear. As the decisive fighting was looked for on this flank, the German cavalry were collected here in thick masses, intermixed, according to ancient custom, with footmen. The Alamannian king, Serapio, still a youth, commanded the right wing. His infantry lay under cover in intrenchments.

Amid deafening noise of trumpets, the left wing of the Romans advanced to the attack of the intrenchments, but were so warmly received that the fight came to a stand-still. Julian no sooner saw this than he dashed up at the head of 200 cavalry, encouraged his men, and ordered forward reinforcements. This moment—the critical one ere the bloody work began—thrilled the hearts of the Germans, and they loudly demanded that all of royal blood should dismount and fight in the ranks on foot. No sooner did Chnodomar hear this, than he too sprang from his horse.

Again the trumpets sounded to right and left. The left wing of the Romans stormed forward and drove the Germans out of their entrenchments. It went differently with their mailed cavalry who charged on the right. They were hurled back in disorder, and only the appearance of the legions and of the emperor in person brought them to a halt.

Julian, we are told, was readily recognizable by the purple dragon-standard, which, borne high aloft and undulating with the breeze, showed like a living thing.

The Germans now advanced in a body to the attack. Frightful was the din of conflict. Shield clashed against shield, breast pressed against breast. Already the barbarians were on the point of hewing through the firm-knit rampart of Roman shields, when the Batavian cohorts, advancing on the run, checked and baffled the gallant onset.

The Alamanni now attempted to restore the wavering fortune of the day by a charge of the very flower of their host. A crowd of their nobles, the kings at their head, formed themselves into a column of attack, and, throwing the opposing ranks into disorder, burst through and fought their way up to the *Praetorium*, the centre of the Roman position. Here stood the legion of the *Primani* in close and firm array. A desperate hand-to-hand fight ensued, in which Roman discipline once more proved its superiority over wild barbaric fury. With reckless devotion these noble youths threw themselves unprotected against their heavily-armed antagonists, only to be cut down in single combat. Soon the carcasses lay piled in heaps; still new crowds pressed forward, to fall, like their brethren, before the swift and silent iron.

The lust of the Germans for fight gradually died away; their onsets grew feebler; their defence, more uncertain. The Romans advanced all along the line, and their enemy in wild flight left the field, hotly pursued by the victors, who cut down all they came upon. To their misfortune, the over-confident Germans had taken up their position with the Rhine at their backs. They now reached it as a routed mob. Recklessly they threw themselves into the stream, only to be slaughtered in masses by missiles from the banks or drowned in its waves. King *Chnodomar*, with a few followers, had fought his way through the enemy, but was recognized, captured, and led off, in abject humiliation, the slave of another man's will. He died at Rome of old age, on the *Caelian Mount*.

Julian was saluted on the field as emperor—an honor he declined to accept. To reap the fruits of his victory, he followed the stream down to Mayence, where he crossed the Rhine bridge. An Alamannian embassy met him and sued for peace and alliance. But the barbarian mind is fickle. Suddenly it veered round, and, friends streaming in, a new army was shortly in the field. Julian declined battle in the enemy's country, but sent a part of his troops over the *Main*, while the rest remained behind to lay waste the land with fire and sword. To their surprise they discovered that the buildings were constructed after the Roman fashion; they were, indeed, in the old *Tithe-land*. Julian had

attained his object, and a part of the assembled German army was detailed for the protection of the afflicted people.

The farther he pressed inland, the more difficult became the march. The foe lurked in the woods, and barred the way with barricades of oak and ash trees. The autumn weather had become unfavorable. A halt was called. One of Trajan's forts was restored and garrisoned, and when the barbarians begged for peace it was granted provisionally, three kings swearing to it after their native fashion. Julian believed his work to be done, and was about to enter winter-quarters, when news reached him that a band of light-armed Franks had crossed the Lower Rhine, plundering and devastating, and had finally established themselves in two deserted forts on the Meuse. He soon besieged them, and, after a stubborn resistance, compelled them to surrender through hunger. This was just in time, for already their countrymen were on the way with succor. As in the case of Chnodomar, the prisoners were sent to the court of the Augustus in Rome.

In this same year—357—while the notes of war were heard so loud along the Rhine, weapons were gleaming also on the Danube. Already, in spring, the Quadi were in Valeria; the Suevi, in Rhaetia; the Sarmatians, in Moesia and Pannonia. Constantius took the field against these in person, and drove them back. In the latter part of the same year, an advance of the Juthungi (who even dared to besiege towns) was bloodily repulsed by Barbatio, only a small part of the invaders saving themselves by flight.

Julian spent the winter in Paris, occupied partly with plans for a new campaign against the Alamanni. Embittered by misfortunes, and with their apprehensions aroused by the renewed strength of Rome, this people were planning an undertaking on a great scale to be carried out by levies from several tribes. Julian determined to reckon with them ere the union was affected.

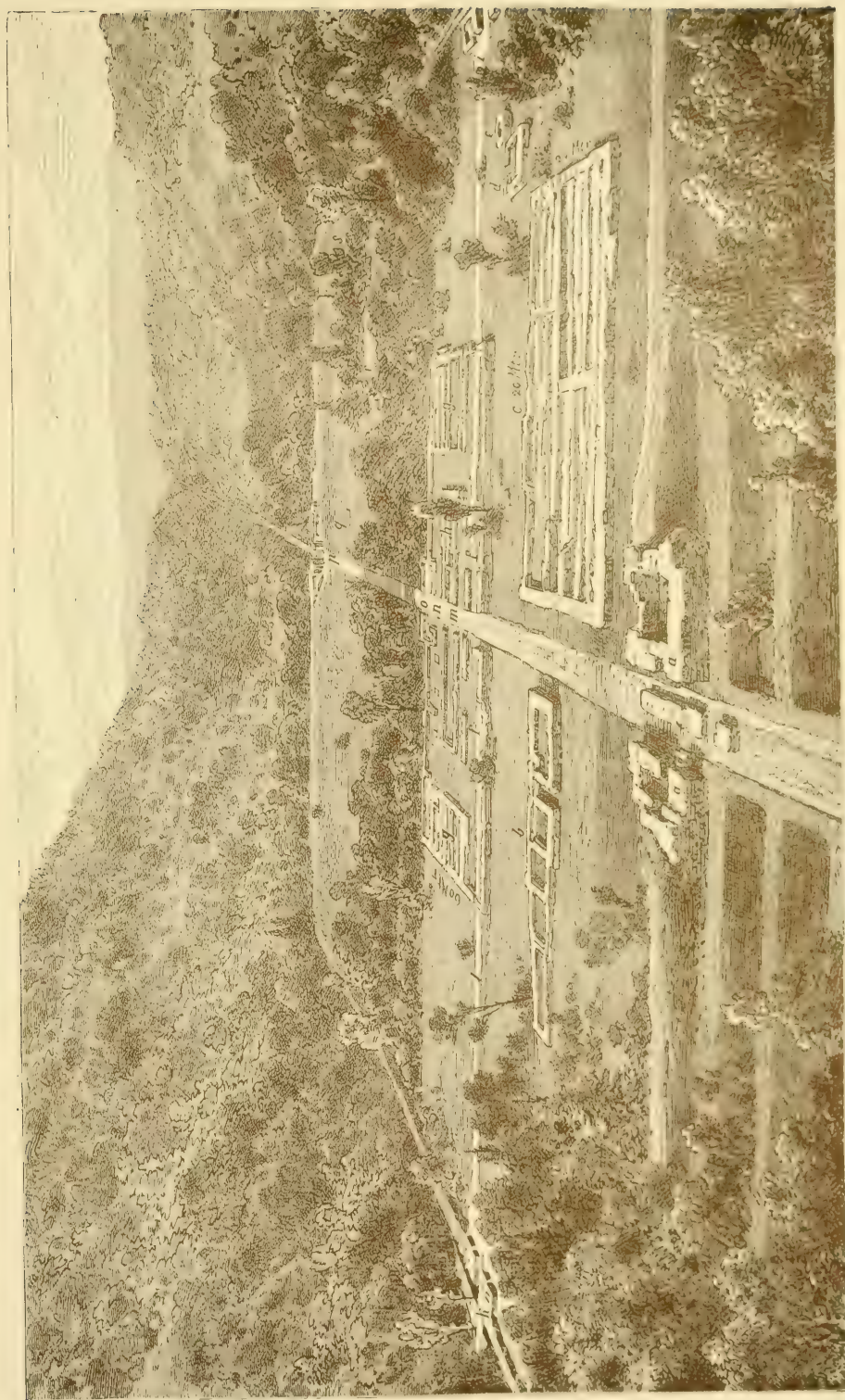
Provided with supplies for twenty days, his troops marched first against the Salie Franks who had settled permanently east of the Scheldt. They were surprised, but, on their supplication, left in their lands. Julian turned then suddenly against the Chamavi, who dwelt on the left bank of the Rhine, and overthrew them. These, too, he finally left in their settlements. Dilapidated fortresses were restored with the object of keeping this people in check and subject to Roman authority (cf. PLATE XVI.¹).

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE XVI.

The Roman Works at Saalburg, near Homburg. (From Schulz-Marienburg, 1880.)

A space in length about 300 paces, and in width about 200 paces, is here inclosed. (a)

PLATE XVI.



Roman Works at Saalberg, near Homburg. Drawn from nature by Schulz-Marienberg, 1880.

This Northern expedition had a deeper object than at first sight appeared. It was really aimed at Rome's most dangerous foe—the Alamanni. The reason for it was simply this: adequate supplies are essential to a campaign in any hostile country. It was at first proposed to draw these from Southern Gaul, but there the harvest was not before July, and to wait till then would have unduly deferred the opening of the campaign. In Britain, on the other hand, there was superabundance of grain, but access to it, while the mouths of the Rhine lay in the hands of the Germans, was dangerous, if not impracticable. Hence, then, this "little war" which put the Lower Rhine virtually in possession of the Romans. Soon, its waters were alive with some six hundred sail.

This effected, Julian moved up the stream and crossed, on a bridge of boats, to Alamannian territory. He caught this people unprepared. The first king the army came on submitted voluntarily to save his lands. With a young Alamannian captive as a guide, and despite all defences, the neighboring districts were burned and plundered. A second king also yielded, and was spared on condition of furnishing material and teams for the restoration of the destroyed towns. It is said that Julian insisted, especially, on the rendering up of all Roman captives, who seem to have been numerous and to have comprised many persons of rank. The same system was employed in this as in the preceding campaign against the Alamanni—avoidance of serious encounters, reduction of the enemy by wasting his fields and buildings, cautious advancement of Roman sway by the erection of new forts. His work done, the conqueror returned to winter-quarters in Paris.

The same year found the Emperor Constantius in arms against the Quadi and Sarmatians, with whom, through forcible but adroit interference in their internal affairs, he concluded short-lived treaties. The Quadi swore to observe them on drawn swords—the symbol of their war-god.

On the Rhine, the war continued during 359 and 360. New inroads had to be guarded against, especially of the unsubdued Southern Alamanni. While Julian kept himself informed regarding their movements by a German spy in the Roman service, he facilitated his contemplated attack, as well as covered a line of retreat for himself, by the restoration of the demolished strong places on the Rhine. Many barbarians were compelled to lend a hand in the work, and the pacified Alamannian kings

Porta decumana; (b) *Quæstorium*; (c) Magazine, 79 ft. by 66 ft.; (d) Room, with heating arrangements; (e) Well; (ff) Drill-rooms; (gg) *Cubicula*, behind them, a chamber with heating apparatus; total length about 200 feet; (h) *Sacellum*; (i) *Porta principalis dextra*; (k) *Porta principalis sinistra*; (l) *Via principalis*; (m) *Atrium*; (n) Peristyle; o *Oecus*; (p) *Porta prætorialis*; (q) Well; (r) Bath, in the thicket, on the line between q and s; (s) *Latrina*.

lead to bring in the building-material. Granaries were constructed in the marshes and filled with grain from Britain.

By all this, time was lost, and the enemy put on his guard against a new surprise. When Julian was about to pass the Rhine at Mayence, he found the right bank so strongly occupied that he judged it prudent to seek a passage at another place. But as he moved, the enemy kept parallel with him on the other side, watching his movements intently. He had now recourse to strategy. On a dark night, leaving their watch-fires all ablaze, a chosen body sailed silently down the river, landed on the right bank, and entrenched themselves. In the meantime, in the enemy's camp, there was no suspicion of danger. King Hörter had invited his brother-kings and their kinsmen to a feast. German-fashion they kept up the carousal into the third watch of the night. As they broke up they were suddenly fallen upon by the Romans, and escaped only through the darkness and the speed of their horses. The passage of the river and the unexpectedness of the attack demoralized the Germans, and their host disbanded itself. Julian was now able to construct a bridge of boats and begin his advance. Again the country was systematically wasted, this time up to the old boundary of the Empire—the stockade—which now divided the Alamanni from the Burgundians. There two Alamannian kings submitted themselves, and during the march, which now turned southward toward the Lake of Constance, terms of peace were dictated to three others. Here, as elsewhere, the terms seem to have been—surrender of captive Romans, and alliance with Rome under the obligations of supplying troops for the legions and of defending the Empire against the Germans living beyond. Rome, in return, pledged herself to make so-called “gifts,” and to erect no new forts within the territory of the Alamanni without their consent.

During all these successes, the relation between Julian and the emperor became ever more strained. Constantius had no sympathy with Julian's fame as a commander, and could not but fear that the dominion of the West would slip from his hands, and that the Caesar would become his equal.

The conflicting interests of the two divisions of the Empire was the immediate cause of rupture. Constantine required large levies for the Persian war, and demanded four cohorts of the Celto-Germanic auxiliaries of the Gallic legions. The demand was not in itself unreasonable, but a part of these troops had entered the service on the condition of not being sent beyond the Alps. They were a sort of Gallic provincial militia, many of whom had wives and children that they were unwilling to leave in Gaul, unprotected and exposed to new incursions. The welfare

of Gaul and the position of the Caesar seemed also to be touched by this weakening of the Western army. When Julian, therefore, in accordance with Constantius's order, called on the troops to hold themselves in readiness to march, they broke into wild uproar. Tumultuous crowds pressed round their commander and saluted him as Augustus. He hesitated, and proposed conditions to Constantius. When these were rejected, there remained only the wager of battle.

Through his wars and treaties, Julian, following the example of Probus, had formed German tribes into a neutral zone of defence between the Empire and inner Germany. In this there was but one gap, namely, from about Bingen to Bonn. To fill up this, and at the same time, by means of intimidation, to cover his rear in the impending campaign, he again crossed the Rhine and fell suddenly on the Chattuarian Franks, "an unruly people who still ventured to make forays into Gaul." Victory was easy, and a peace was concluded favorable to the neighboring Roman landowners. He quickly recrossed the Rhine and marched up the stream to Augst, near Basel. The places which the barbarians had occupied were recaptured and strengthened, forts were repaired, and, thereafter, the troops led to winter-quarters at Vienne, whence Julian meant to set out to bring his affair with Constantius to a decision.

A secret foe developed itself where he least expected—namely, in the Rhine-Germans, and especially in a section of the Alamanni, whose undertakings he had furthered by his great accumulations of grain at Bregenz. Julian's success had been won, not primarily for himself as Caesar, but for the overlord of the Empire, the Augustus, who now utilized his position, especially in relation to the treaty-bound peoples, to the disadvantage of his rival. The disposition of the Germans coincided with the imperial policy. In the spring, Alamannian swarms burst into the borderland. Against these Julian dispatched a deputy, who fell into an ambuscade and was slain. Julian felt that if he were not prepared to surrender Gaul, he must at once reckon with these foes. He captured their king, Vadomar, and then crossing the Rhine in deep night, fell on the unsuspecting Alamanni on the right bank, who, roused from sleep only by the clash of weapons, were easily overpowered.

Julian's hands were now free. He set off, therefore, toward Constantinople by way of the Black Forest and the banks of the Danube. Fortune was propitious to him. Before it came to battle between him and his foe, Constantius, the latter died, and his army also saluted Julian as emperor. He was never to see the West again. After strengthening the line of defence on the Danube against the Goths, he fell two years later—in 363—in battle against the Persians. Such an impression had the

Rhine-Germans made on him that he was wont to say: "Listen to me, to whom the Alamanni and Franks have listened." Of the Goths, on the contrary, he had but a poor opinion, and, as we shall see shortly, not unjustly.

His successor, Jovian, died after seven months' reign, whereupon the vigorous Valentinian I., a Pannonian, ascended the throne. He assigned the East to his brother and co-emperor, Valens, while he retained the West for himself, taking up his abode in Gaul.

If we take a short survey of the movements among the German tribes from the death of Constans, we see that they were both general and violent. A period of stagnation had been followed by one of unrest. From the mouth of the Rhine to the Lower Danube there was commotion everywhere, and this not in the form of mere adventurous forays, but rather of a general forward movement. So energetic was this all along the Rhine, that, though it was in some measure stayed by victories and forts, it could not be effectively repelled. Events occurring in inland Germany had their effects here on the boundary. Although we have no detailed account of these, we know that the Franks were impelled forward by the Saxons, and the Alamanni by the Burgundians. The last people, indeed, as we formerly saw, had already reached the *limes*, and had so circumscribed the Alamannian territory, that it stretched in a mere strip from the left bank of the Main up the Rhine, widening, however, as it advanced. On the Middle Danube, the Jazyges (Sarmatians) were so hard pressed by "Scythians"—probably Goths—that they were compelled to arm their serfs. This mode of defence was effective for the moment; but the serfs fell on their masters, and, driving them forth, took possession of their lands. The Saxons gradually felt themselves so straitened for room that they sent forth the Chauci—a part of their confederation—who settled themselves beside the Franks along the mouths of the Rhine. Gradually this people blended with the Batavi and Salii into one tribe, which later rose to great importance under the name of the Salic Franks.

Julian's warlike demonstrations had brought the slow but steady general advance of the German peoples to a temporary standstill. He had in Valentinian a worthy successor, who, as an orthodox Christian, had resources unknown to the philosophic heathen. A heavy task awaited the latter. The dwellers on the Danube, especially the Goths, showed themselves again on Roman territory; the Alamanni ravaged Gaul and Rhaetia, while Britain was afflicted at once by the Caledonians and the Saxons.

The Alamanni had been accustomed to receive tributary gifts of a certain value at the court on the accession of an emperor. Instead of

these, articles of trifling worth were handed to their envoys, who threw them contemptuously to the ground. On being roughly handled therefore by the Roman commissioner, they left, and their people took up their cause, sword in hand. Their first inroad was little more than a demonstration, but while the cold of January, 367, still prevailed they appeared



FIGS. 70, 71.—Reliefs from the tomb of Jovinus at Rheims.

a second time with larger designs. The Frank, Charietto, and the gray-haired Severianus advanced to meet them. A bloody fight took place, in which the German wedge broke the Roman line. Severianus fell, and Charietto, while endeavoring to rally his men, was slain by a spear-thrust. All was now confusion. The standards of the Herulian and Batavian

columns were lost, and, although recovered after a severe struggle, the issue of the fight remained unaffected.

The conquerors overflowed the land till the Roman general, Jovinus (Figs. 70, 71), surprised and annihilated two large bands. He then advanced by forced marches against the third, which stood ready for battle near Châlons-sur-Marne. From early morning the bloody work went on. Thousands were slain, many of the wounded perishing through the frost of winter. At evening, both armies maintained their position. One cohort only had given way. The Romans took a short rest on the field, and with dawn of day arose to find that the foe was up and away. Pursuit was useless. One king was the only captive, and him the Romans hanged as a robber-chief. By various little engagements Gaul was cleared of the roaming hordes.

The work was lighter on the Lower Danube. Against Valens, a rival had arisen in Procopius, a descendant of Constantine, who was supported by Gothic auxiliaries. He was captured and put to death. The Goths attempted to excuse themselves in vain. Valens dealt with them as with treaty-breakers, and, in the spring of 367, passed the Danube on a bridge of boats. He met with no opposition. The Goths hid themselves in the forests and mountains. They declined to fight, for they thought that a victory would only prolong the war. The campaign of the following year was also without results. The Danube overflowed the land, and the emperor had to enter a standing-camp. He advanced a third time, and, on this occasion, gained a victory over the Greuthungi (Ostrogoths) under Athanaric. The Goths suffered severely from the war—not least because they were reduced to want by the cessation of all tribute and by the loss of the yearly grants, and they dispatched frequent embassies, craving peace. At length they gained a hearing, and a treaty of peace between the emperor and the Goths was sworn to on an island of the Danube.

At the same time, Germans were fighting in Britain. The German leader, Tullofandes, fell in an ambuscade of the Celts; while Franks and Saxons landed on the coasts to be driven forth mainly by Heruli and Batavians. But, as ever, it was on the Rhine frontier that the danger was greatest. In 368, an Alamannian of royal race, named Rando, executed a daring and (as it proved) a fatal feat. While the Christians of Mayence were celebrating a festival, he suddenly burst in upon the insufficiently garrisoned city and carried off men and women, as well as a rich booty. The Empire revenged itself after a fashion, by procuring the assassination of the restless king, Vithicab. In the same year, the emperor filled his magazines and collected large masses of troops, whom, as

soon as the warmer season set in, he himself, accompanied by his son, Gratian, led over the Rhine. They advanced in closely-formed squares, always ready for combat; but no foe was to be seen. They had assembled farther inland. By the Roman van the Alamanni were reported in sight, at a place called Solicinum, which cannot now be positively identified. They occupied a high and steep hill sloping toward the north, so that it offered a line of retreat. Toward this side a special detachment was dispatched, while the main body, wearied with the march, rested in the camp. The emperor himself rode forward to reconnoitre, and was nearly made a prisoner. On his return, the signal for attack was sounded, and the men climbed the hill through brush and thorns. When the height was scaled, it came to a hand-to-hand fight. For long the scales hung trembling in the balance, to descend at last in favor of the Romans. The barbarians fled, most of them to their destruction, for the detached corps lay lurking in ambush. Yet the success seems not to have been quite so complete as the emperor wished, for, instead of improving it, he betook himself home to Treves.

Valentinian was a thoughtful, prudent man, and knew well that such campaigns were dangerous and cost more than they brought in, and that the best cover for Gaul was a strong line of defence along the Rhine. He resumed, therefore, the work of Julian. The whole left bank was secured by great earthworks, and by forts and towers here and there advanced over to the right bank. He did not hesitate even to lead the lower stretch of the Neckar into a new course, in order to secure a strong fort from being undermined by its water.¹

In the zeal of inexperience, Valentinian had to make some grave mistakes. He resolved, for example, to erect a fort on Mount Pirus—probably the Heiligenberg, near Heidelberg—on Alamannian soil. Men were already at work, when Alamannian nobles appeared and, on their knees, begged that sacred treaties should not thus be unscrupulously broken. In vain. No ear was given to their prayer. Suddenly a barbaric crowd burst in upon the builders and cut them down, save one man, who escaped to tell the tale.

Another plague seems to have made itself ever more and more felt—the Saxons. Ceaselessly they kept landing at undefended parts of the coast, penetrating deep inland, and returning to their vessels, laden with plunder, before Roman troops could reach them. Here and there they seem to have settled, and to have attracted kinsmen to join them. Later we come repeatedly on Saxons in the coast-regions, without knowing

¹ This lay either on the site of modern Heidelberg, or, according to the latest researches, near Altripp (above Mannheim), which then probably lay on the right bank of the Rhine.

whenever they came. At length a great swarm of them was attacked, and after a desperate conflict, all but annihilated.

In the meantime, the brooding brain of the emperor had devised a new stroke against the Alamanni and their king Macrian. A strife regarding boundaries and salt-pits was now in progress between this people and their warlike neighbors on the northeast, the Burgundians. Valentinian formed an alliance with this latter people, and it was arranged that the Alamanni should be attacked by them and the Romans simultaneously, from east and west. The Burgundians stormed right across the Alamannian land to the Rhine, but the Romans made no attack. Probably Valentinian duped the Burgundians, and wished only to provoke a war between them and the Alamanni, in the Roman interest. The Burgundians demanded explanations, and their envoys came back with nothing save flimsy excuses, which so infuriated the people that they slaughtered their prisoners and returned home. Theodosius, who commanded in Rhaetia, acted differently there. He availed himself of the Burgundian raid to fall on the alarmed and discomfited Alamanni, many of whom were slain or captured. The captives he sent as tributary colonists to the thinly-peopled banks of the Po.

This policy of inciting the Burgundians and Alamanni against each other was not a success. On the contrary, it was of advantage to Macrian, in that it extended his authority over a greater number of peoples, and so increased his reputation and power. It was resolved to assassinate him. Valentinian caused him to be surrounded with spies, who brought word that he was at Wiesbaden for his health. With great secrecy the emperor constructed a bridge of boats on the Rhine and began a march to this place. The attack miscarried through want of discipline in the soldiers, who strolled maul-raiding over the country, and so betrayed themselves. Valentinian, exasperated, caused the country to be ravaged for many miles around, and then returned to Treves.

He next endeavored to reach his foe by fomenting dissensions among his people. To the Alamannian tribe dwelling opposite Mayence, he gave a new king, who, however, was so little able to defend himself, that he sent him as tribune to Britain. Two of his nobles also received commands. Horter, who was accused of remaining true to Macrian, was put to the torture and burned alive.

Let us now briefly survey the results of Valentinian's policy up to this time. Along the Danube matters were, on the whole, peaceful. The war with the Goths was a purely Roman offensive one. On the Rhine, the most noteworthy fact was that the Franks, hitherto so dangerous, were now friendly neighbors, a result evidently due to Julian's wars and

treaties, the latter bringing gold into their land and Frankish soldiers into the legions. The Franks long continued to be a stay of the sinking Empire. On the other hand, war was carried on against the Alamanni, first in the old style—Roman defensive; then in the new style—German defensive. Latterly, it came to be little more than a personal conflict between Valentinian and Macrian, with, however, other matters of import in the background. Macrian seems to have set a higher price on the friendship of the Alamanni than Valentinian was willing to pay for it. Neither would give way, and so affairs took their course, decidedly to the disadvantage of the Alamanni. An unexpected occurrence on the Middle Danube was to bring matters to an issue.

The emperor had caused entrenched camps to be formed within the lands of the Quadi. They begged him to desist, and when some began to murmur, a false charge of sedition was brought against them, and they were driven forth from their settlements. Their king, Gabinius, was invited by the Roman commander to a feast, and treacherously murdered. This foul deed brought the long-restrained wrath of the Quadi to a head. Allying themselves with their neighbors, the Sarmatians, they stormed over the Danube into Pannonia, laying waste the land just when the indwellers, unsuspecting of danger, were housing the harvest. The natives were slain or captured, and their cattle driven off. Even the daughter of the Emperor Constantius, the bride of Gratian, barely managed to escape. Such was the alarm that the prefect Probus caused the horses to be saddled preparatory to a flight from Sirmium, which would probably have given this strong capital of the province into the hands of the barbarians. Gradually men recovered their courage: two tried legions advanced against the invaders; but discord prevailed among the troops, and they were scattered and slaughtered (Fig. 72). The appearance of the younger Theodosius, who commanded in Moesia, the approach of winter, and the threatened advance of the emperor induced the barbarians to recross the Danube.

Valentinian had again, in 374, laid waste some Alamannian cantons, and was occupied with the erection of a castle near Basel, when he received tidings of the Illyrian disaster. This determined him to seek peace with the Alamanni. Valentinian and Macrian met on the right bank of the Rhine opposite Mayence, with circumstances of considerable pomp, and a treaty of amity and alliance was entered into and sworn to, which the Alamannian king observed till his death in the field, when heading a foray in the country of the veteran Frank, Mellobaudes.

Valentinian had now his hands free, and could turn his attention to Illyrian affairs. In the middle of spring, he hurried by forced marches

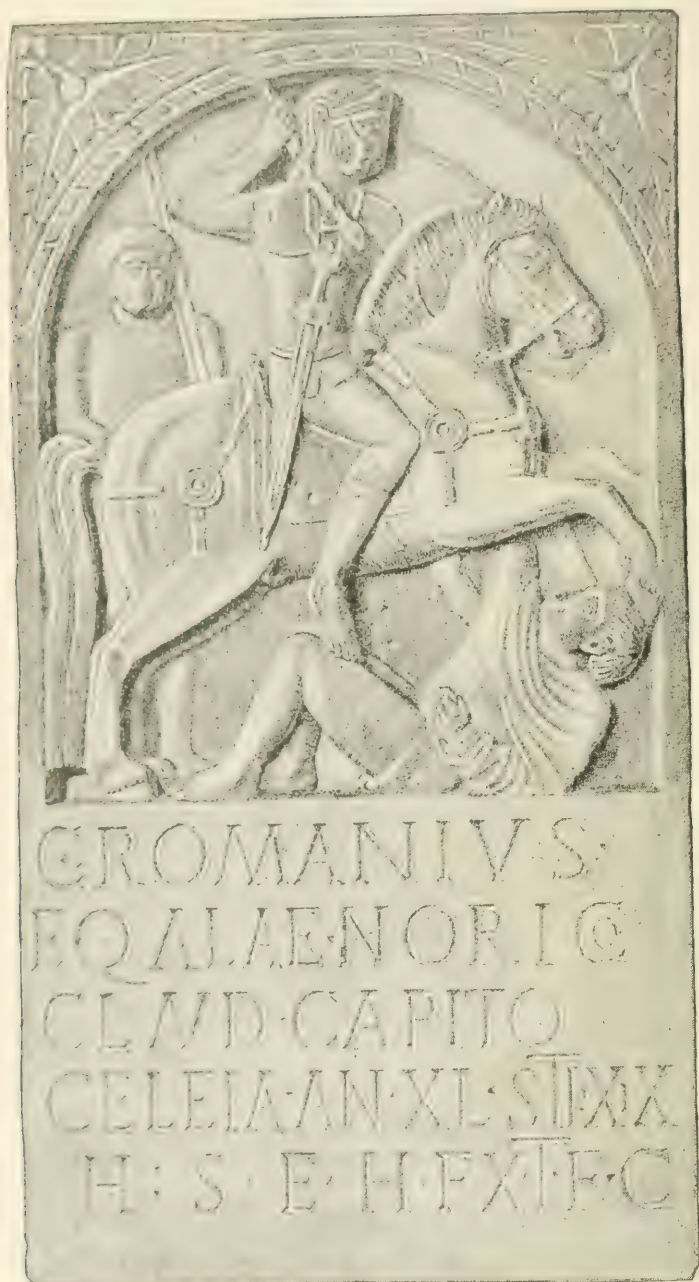


FIG. 72.—Tombstone of a Roman cavalryman of the troop (*ala*) of Noricians. Height 5 ft. 5 in. Of limestone. In the Mayence Museum. (After Lindenschmit.)

to the East, and established his headquarters at the strategically important town of Carnutum. This, with his usual forethought, he utilized as a great magazine of supplies, and building a bridge of boats at Alt-Ofen, near modern Budapest, he crossed with the view of severely chastising the barbarians. But these kept out of his way, so there was nothing to be done save to lay waste their country, fortify some places on the Danube, and lead back his army to safe quarters, before being overtaken by the storms of winter. Envoys of the Quadi waited on him at Bregetio, not far from Komorn, with proposals for peace and alliance. Scarcity of supplies and the weather induced him to grant them a hearing. Their address seems to have been somewhat self-confident, and the emperor burst forth in a passion of rage. On a sudden his voice failed. Blood streamed from his mouth and nose, and he sank back in death. His demise was carefully concealed till the last Roman detachment had left the country of the Quadi, and had broken down the bridge of boats behind them. His four-year-old son, Valentinian II., was raised to the throne, with Italy as his prefecture, while the more perilous post of Gaul was assigned to his older son, Gratian.

Probus, Constantine, Julian, and Valentinian are to be regarded as the great organizers of the frontiers in the later times of the Empire. The object at which they all aimed was the same—an effective line of defence on the borders. Probus sought to create this by incorporation of, and alliance with, the neighboring Germans; Constantine, by Rome's own preponderating military power; Julian and Valentinian, by combining both systems.

Of Valentinian, Ammianus says: "His efforts to secure the Roman frontiers were worthy of praise, but he attempted too much." From strategic motives he sought to strengthen the main line of defence by advanced works at certain points. Some of these he secured by covenants with the natives, so that they were like so many *enclaves* on German soil, for example, the strong fort of Heidelberg or Altripp. Others he erected independently of such extraneous protection, and in most cases the issue was fortunate. In two instances, however, this plan had bad results. His methods remind us of the *Chambres de Réunion* of Louis XIV., by which he acquired territory at the expense of his neighbors.

Another writer says: "He fortified the Rhine by great earthworks along its whole length, from Rhaetia to the ocean. Everywhere along the Gallie frontier arose forts and towers—some greater, some less—at places specially adapted for them. At several points he advanced the boundary-line, especially by constructing forts on the farther side of the stream." We saw, when treating of Julian, that the same system of

defence was pursued on the Danube. (Cf. Fig. 73.) The question arises, Where are we to look for the boundary line in the country between the Rhine and the Danube? For this, our authorities are the *Notitia Dignitatum* (written about A. D. 400), and the remains of the forts themselves. Judging from these, the western boundary of Rhaetia was the river Iller, in its whole course from Ulm to Kempten; from Kempten a strong line of forts ran west past Wangen till it touched the Lake of Constance. In Bregenz, on the lake, there lay a corps of sailors who cruised on it and on the Rhine as far as Schaffhausen. The available force in the province

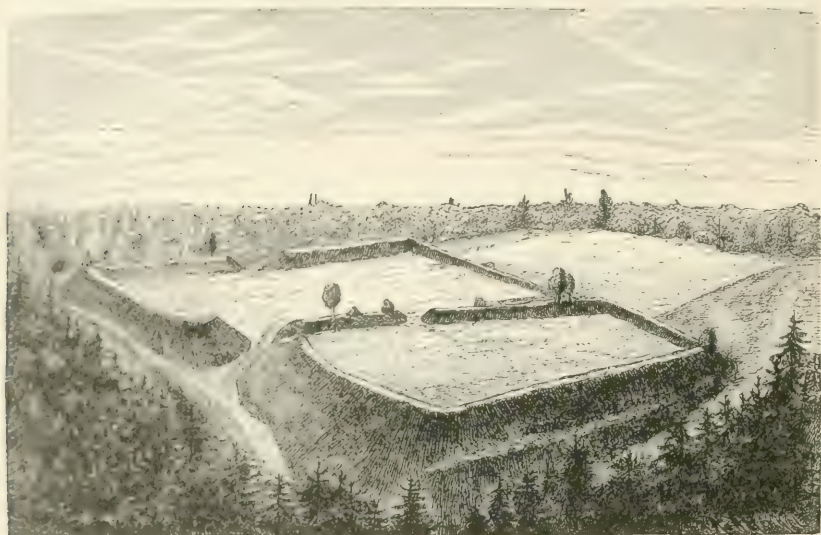


FIG. 73.—The Roman Fortifications in the Gleisenthal, near Deisenhofen. View from the northeast; area, 183,377 sq. ft.; greatest height above the valley, 85 ft.; greatest length, about 560 ft. (After F. Ohlenschläger.)

was about 13,000 men, their commander being a high state official—a duke or grand-master of the army. With tolerable certainty we refer the construction of this West Rhaetian boundary-line to Valentinian.

On taking a bird's-eye view of the state of the frontier at the end of this period, we find the Rhine and Danube lines fully in possession of the Romans, yet in such a way that all along the left bank of the Rhine, the line was sometimes more, sometimes less, advanced; while here and there, on the right bank of the Danube, were German settlers living as Roman subjects. Either they had come as friends, or they had forcibly seized the lands, and been afterward reduced to submission. The Alamanni, too, had passed over the Upper Danube, having the Rhine, the north

shore of Lake Constance, and the Iller as boundaries ; to the east their southern limits corresponded, in the main, to those of modern Württemberg and Bavaria.

In the Third Century, the Empire was seemingly on the point of falling to pieces. After the accession of the Illyrian Caesars it maintained (in spite of occasional vacillations) a decided preponderance of power over the Germans. The flaxen-haired barbarian was slowly but steadily changing his condition from that of a warrior to that of a peasant. As the latter, he owned property, and, in war, risked more than he could hope to win. His mania for fighting began to die away, and such as had any excess of zeal in this direction could find scope for its manifestation in the legions. The Germans are no longer deported in masses and settled on Roman soil. The last example of this was in the case of the Alamanni, who were carried to the banks of the Po. More and more they desisted from aggressive warfare. Their struggles with Valentinian either were due to provocation or were purely defensive.

Like a double girdle there lay around the Empire, first a military frontier occupied by treaty-bound peoples, and behind this, the military and naval might of Rome—legions, ships, fortresses. So long as this carefully planned and effective system was maintained in its integrity, the Germans might indeed occasionally relapse into the offensive—in particular, new and strange peoples might make attacks—but no one doubted but that they would be repelled. The permanency of the Empire seemed to be secured, when suddenly the resonant tread of horse-hoofs was heard in the far East. A hitherto unheard-of people of the steppes—the Huns—bounded as if by one spring upon the world's stage of action.

CHAPTER IX.

THE GERMANS AT HOME AND IN THE EMPIRE.

THE Roman world had now developed into a great civilized and commercial realm, with the Mediterranean as its heart, from which there branched outward to the remotest regions the most divergent arteries of intercourse and traffic. Roads from every quarter converged toward the golden milestone of Augustus at the foot of the Capitol. Exchange was facilitated by uniformity in money, speech, and private law, the last of which since Caracalla's days all freeborn citizens enjoyed, and which had wonderfully sharpened men's legal perceptions, especially in regard to property. A cosmopolitan atmosphere had diffused itself over the Empire, in which old prejudices had died away and old contrasts disappeared. Everywhere we observe a general similarity in culture and in customs; while traffic had promoted activity and intercourse among all the members of this essentially one community.

The terrible miseries of the Third Century had brought the Empire to the brink of ruin. Population had become sparse, the land lay waste, towns fell to ruins, wealth vanished. An old panegyrist sorrowfully says: "The level country as far as the Saône was once happy and prosperous, for the floods were kept under control. Now the lowlands are become river-courses, or stagnant pools. The once vigorous vine-stems are sapless and run wild, and no one sets new vines. From the point where the way leads toward Belgic Gaul, all is a desert—waste, silent, gloomy. The very high-road is so rugged and uneven as to make transportation all but impracticable." About the middle of the Third Century there were few fortunate lands on the European continent which had not seen the ominous blue eyes and fair, flowing hair of the Germans, nor felt the weight of their heavy hand. With pestilence, famine, and party-fury as allies, they desolated all the West, regarding it as their prey.

Then came the Illyrian Caesars on the scene. Their earliest care was to ensure the existence of the Empire; this effected, Diocletian and Constantine were able to address themselves to internal reforms. They reconstituted the offices, taxes, and mode of administration generally, and elevated the imperial authority far above that of the army or senate. Italy lost its position of pre-eminence. Rome was rivalled as the place

of imperial residence by Constantinople, Milan, and Treves. While the political importance of the "City on the Seven Hills" thus declined, there arose in the provinces great centres of civil culture, each after the model of the commonwealth of Rome. The hardy Gaul could not but look with contempt on the formerly imperious Southron, who, meagre and emasculated, could indeed still his hunger with an onion, but who shunned to spill his blood in the fight because he had so little to spare.

Wars within the Empire gradually ceased. The inroads of barbarians became less frequent and less destructive. The population began to increase, but in the peculiar Roman way, according to which cities flourish at the expense of the country. The land fell more and more into the hands of rich city landowners and speculators, who cultivated their broad acres by foreign help. The small peasant-farmers, on the other hand, groaned under heavy taxes and oppressive military burdens. Frequently they put themselves and their little properties under the protection of some powerful patron, and thus sank into vassalage, while they aggrandized his already overgrown possessions. Even in the cities the middle class disappeared, and princely fortunes accumulated in a few hands. The state treasury demanded enormous contributions, which, however, vanished mysteriously.

Still, these evils were not universal, and they even presented some countervailing advantages. The luxury of the rich promoted the circulation of money and gave employment to many hands. Elegant buildings arose, and soon the temples, amphitheatres, triumphal arches, and baths of many Gallic cities, were scarcely excelled by those of Italy.

Technical skill, too, had degenerated, while real power of execution was much rarer than in the earlier times of the Empire. This was especially observable in the army. When the stout native materials of the old cohorts failed, the broad mass of the phalanx was substituted. The legions had deteriorated in quality, but had been more than proportionally increased in numbers. But here, too, improvements soon made themselves apparent: disciplined courage, skilful leadership, and confidence of the men in their commanders, almost uniformly carried the day over the untrained strength and blind impetuosity of their enemies.

The intellectual and spiritual life of the people shared in the revival. In art, literature, and religion, life and activity came in place of dumb inertness. Men had once more time to hope, to cultivate themselves mentally, and to give expression to their conceptions and feelings. The decayed institutions of learning were revived and multiplied, and, in Gaul especially, organized in accordance with the requirements of a polished people. The Empire allowed the mind free scope in the most

various directions. It exercised no spiritual control, save where such was demanded by imperative state interests. Every man was free to grope his way for himself. In the desolation of unfaith men had clutched at the most various makeshifts, and had striven to satisfy their spiritual cravings with philosophy and the barren cult of pagan gods. At length all this gave way before the one new teaching—that of Christ originated. Despised by the high and learned as the superstition of an ill-instructed rabble, hated and maligned by the adherents of heathendom, ignored or persecuted by the state, it yet soared aloft in the consciousness of the triumph of truth. The blood of the martyrs was as quickening dew to the thirsty soul. Constantine made Christianity the state religion side by side with paganism. This was its crowning step toward universal supremacy. A rich Christian literature bloomed forth, which in a short time excelled in abundance all that had come down from heathen authors. By its association with the imperial authority, Christianity began to acquire uniformity, and to become, in some measure, itself monarchical; while, by the splendor of its ceremonial, it knew how to impress the spirits of men, and to maintain its ascendancy over them.

The last great pagan reaction under Julian was succeeded by the judicious administration of Valentinian, who essayed to place the succession to the throne on a new basis, and to establish the claim of his own house for all future time. In order to obviate all conflict, he, in conjunction with his brother, made a definite division of the legions into Western and Eastern, which was nearly equivalent to a division of the Empire itself, or was, at least, the prelude to such. In accordance with the requirements of its provinces, the Empire fell now into two almost independent, and yet, in some measure, confederate parts.

At the end of our period, the state had attained to a settled order in civil, military, and ecclesiastical affairs, which, though in some respects oppressive, on the whole met the wants of the majority of its subjects. The government, more and more recognizing its duty to these, introduced measures having in view the general good. The keystone of the whole structure was the imperial authority, which, after many shocks and new departures, had now entered on a path that seemed to promise steady development. As an evidence of the feeling of peaceful security that characterized this period, it is worthy of note that the entrenchments of the important and much-exposed Sirmium were allowed to become filled up, and its walls and towers to fall to ruins. As there, so elsewhere,

Gauls, Iberians, and Britons had done their utmost to denationalize

themselves and become Roman. Their intermixture with the Romans had strengthened the latter, while it had civilized themselves. But as even their vigor was no longer sufficient, new blood—especially German—was infused into the torpid veins.

In the Fourth Century, the Germans within the Empire already numbered millions. Ever since the overthrow of the Cimbri and Teutons every successful war had transferred new bands into the Empire. Marcus Aurelius thus repopled the depopulated border-provinces; the Illyrian Caesars and the Constantii—especially Probus and Constantius Chlorus—continued the process, so that a historian was able to say that the Roman provinces were full of barbarian slaves and peasants, and that there was not a district that had not seen, with pride, a Goth in bondage. At first, men thought little of shedding the blood of prisoners, but, with time, they became more frugal. It was a costly material, which could be spent to much better purpose in the service of Rome. Besides this compulsory introduction of Germans, there was a voluntary and peaceful immigration, sometimes of individuals, sometimes of whole tribes, driven forth by want or by hostile neighbors. The diverse circumstances in which they arrived determined the conditions of their reception. Many were glad of shelter on any terms, others felt themselves strong enough to make conditions and to demand an equivalent for their services. Many came as permanent settlers; many others, only to gain money by serving in the army and then to return home.

The sturdy foreigners pushed themselves into every calling. The firstcomers were mainly captives, who, as slaves, were put to all the toil and occupations of the day. In addition to these came the *Coloni* in ever-increasing numbers—rent-paying peasant-farmers, possessed of civil rights, and settled either on the great domains of the state or on the estates of private landowners. In the Fourth Century, German *Coloni* were to be found in every province of the Empire. Their lot was not a happy one. Mostly they were in a condition of abject serfdom, and ground down by imposts, taxes, requisitions, billetings, and conscriptions. From this order came the best class of recruits. Commonly the *Coloni* tilled small farms, held by hereditary tenure, sometimes settled near each other in considerable numbers; at other times they constituted whole colonies under the supervision of governors.

The so-called *Gentiles* lived in a freer condition than the *Coloni*. These were members of an inferior arm of the military service, and were distributed in numerous detachments over the West under the command of prefects. The *Gentiles* probably did not live by tillage, but from their pay. It is worthy of remark that a somewhat distin-

garrisoned portion of guards also bore the name of Gentiles, and consisted mainly, or exclusively, of Germans.

The *Laeti*, who, in some measure combined the functions of the *Coloni* and *Gentiles*, enjoyed more favorable conditions than either. They owned their farms, paying rent to no one, and, subject only to the emperor, retained their native laws. The domains occupied by their closely-clustered farms constituted almost little German States. They formed distinct divisions of the army under their own commanders, or were enrolled among the guards. There were twelve such *Laetic* military colonies, chiefly on the Gallo-German frontier—a fact that proves how fully the Romans trusted them, notwithstanding their occasional encroachments and relapses into their old robber-ways.

Akin to the *Laeti*, but even more independent, were those tribes who lived entire and unbroken on Roman territory and under Roman rule, but in conformity with their own laws. Of this class were the *Batavi*, who covered the frontiers at the mouths of the Rhine, and contributed auxiliaries to the army. In the course of time, as they became ever more Romanized, they disappear altogether among the floods of newcomers. A similar fate befell the *Ubii*, who were settled by Augustus on the left bank of the Rhine and in the Eifel. Of the *Sigambri* and *Narisei*, who were planted by Marcus Aurelius on the banks of the Doubs, the sole memorial is in the name of the *Nariscan* canton. None of these immigrants could withstand the influence of a superior civilization and an old-established polity. Of the other peoples who came later, especially in the Fourth Century, considerable fragments still remained German, partly because they lived together in masses; partly because the Empire had lost something of its assimilating power; partly because there was no longer time left for it to denationalize them.

At various points on the left bank of the Rhine, Germans had seized the land, and continued to hold it, after victoriously repelling Roman assaults, under imperial supremacy. The wasted province of Thrace was settled by Probus with 100,000 *Bastarnae*. He brought also *Gepidae*, *Ostrogoths*, and *Vandals* into the Empire. When the *Vandals* remaining in the steppes of the *Maros* were overthrown by the *Goths*, Constantine I. allowed them to settle in the depopulated province of *Pannonia*. Near *Nicopolis*, in *Moesia*, where Mount *Haemus* slopes to the plain, the Christianized *Goths* received settlements, in answer to their prayers, from Constantius. Conquered *Alamanni* were transferred to homes near the *Po*. We thus see that Germans were to be found everywhere over the Empire, but most thickly near the Rhine and Danube frontiers.

Next to agriculture war was the chief occupation of these foreigners. The reorganization of the army by Constantine was of high import to them. By it the condition of the men, but especially of the officers, was improved, and the military career disassociated from the civil. While the latter fell more and more into the hands of the city aristocracy, the army became ever more permeated with Germans. In the beginning of the Fifth Century, a German cohort lay in garrison even in Egypt. Volunteer and drafted recruits were sometimes incorporated in the legions, sometimes formed into distinct corps. Two German auxiliary regiments raised Julian to the purple. Their cry is significant: "Up, soldiers, foreign and native, do not desert the emperor." Frankish and Alamannian kings reckoned it an honor to hold high commands in the Roman army. German adventurers rose to positions of eminence, as, for example, the Frank, Charietto, who from a robber came to be commander of the army for "both the Germanies." The emperors preferred to entrust their persons and their most confidential orders to these fair-haired foreigners. They constituted the imperial body-guard, and from their ranks men were often selected to be officers of the line. The later we come down, the more regularly do we find the commanders of the life-guards bearing German names. Their brilliant equipments and nodding plumes dazzled the eyes of the simple son of the forest, and constituted, to his mind, the most attractive of all garbs.

We find Germans engaged also in the civil service, in the administration, in diplomacy, and about the court. Already, in Treves, the Emperor Constans had surrounded himself mainly with Germans. Under the Constantii, Frankish officers enjoyed a predominant influence; and the Frank, Nevitta, was named Consul. In the halls of Byzantium, Constantine I. set up the statues of Gothic kings; and marriages between Germans and the best families of the Empire had long before become common. Their capacity and skill made them privileged members of society. It was, says Ammianus ill-naturedly, as if the Empire rested on their shoulders alone. In short, Germans were to be found in every grade of society and in every calling—at work in the fields in the garb of slaves, or as free peasants in the bureaus, in the Christian Church, and as warriors, fighting manfully against Germans, Persians, and Moors.

Although the Germans as a whole accommodated themselves, more or less, to Roman modes of living, and submitted themselves to the influences of civilization, they also exercised a reciprocal influence upon Roman life. In the later times of the Empire their long beards, fair hair, and northern fur-trimmings became quite the fashion. The army was almost transformed. The long sword of the German auxiliaries

became the weapon of the legions, the helmets were covered with hides, and from the imperial ranks there sounded forth the German war-song as lustily as from the wedged-formed battalions opposed to them.

With mingled feelings of envy and aversion, of contempt and admiration, Romans and provincials gazed at these stalwart robust figures—of iron constitution—who stalked over the border, scantily clad in coarse linen, and redolent of garlic and rancid butter; and who yet, in a wonderfully short time, learned how to anoint themselves and to intrigue as well as the native Romans, and often even better. Rome trembled before these barbarians, but could not dispense with them; while, to them, she was an enchanted palace of delights which ever anew drew them to itself. These sons of the forest were yet to be Rome's most dangerous foes. So long as she maintained herself in undecayed vigor, they were proud to be members of an Empire that ruled the world. When she became debilitated so that she could no longer defend her subjects against the intrushing floods of enemies, then the feeling of citizenship died out among the Germans in the Empire, and in its place came that of tribal kinship with the victorious invaders. In other words, in a strong state, the Germans grew to be good citizens; in one going to pieces through weakness, they constituted a dangerous element of disintegration.

At the close of our period, in the time of Valentinian, the former appeared to be Rome's condition. The Empire was armed against foes from without, and law was all-powerful from within. No national peculiarities could long withstand the assimilating influence of her civilization. In such circumstances, no one dreamed that the Germans would ever become a source of danger to the permanence of her Empire. Nay, a later Christian writer says: "Behold, the whole race of man has fallen under the dominion of Romulus, and the most diverse customs and temperaments have melted into uniformity." There can scarcely be a doubt but that, had affairs kept on in their normal course, the Eastern and Western sections of the Empire would have maintained themselves in their integrity, each developing itself in the way proper to it, Gaul probably having the hegemony of the West. But this condition was denied. New folk-waves stormed in, and the ship went to pieces among the breakers.

While the Germans who had left their homes elbowed their way forward into the hurry and turmoil of the world, the mass of the people continued to live in their native forest-hamlets, cultivating their individual and tribal peculiarities. To this we have the testimony—prejudiced, it must be allowed—of Salvian, who characterized the Goths as

faithless, the Gepidae as brutal, the Alamanni as inebriate, the Franks as false, the Saxons as cruel, the Vandals as cowardly. In all of them, however, he recognizes the purity and fecundity of the marriage-bed as the inviolate foundation of German social life. History, too, indicates clear distinctions between the tribes, showing us, for example, the wild adventurous Vandals in vivid contrast with the pliant, receptive, and comparatively polished Burgundians.

Unfortunately, we know little of the life of the Germans in their home-land. We are better informed regarding the dwellers on the fron-

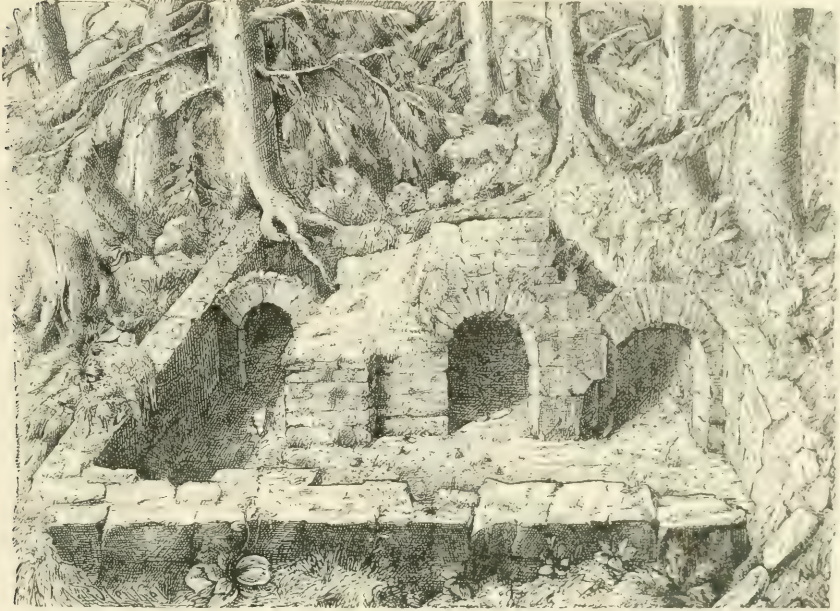


FIG. 71.—Roman remains in the forest near Kulbing. About 2 miles from Lausen, in Upper Bavaria. Length of the ruin, 29 ft. ; width, 12 ft. (After Wiesend.)

tier ; but what we know of them cannot be applied, without qualification, to all the Germans, for the borderers lived under strong Roman influences, those in Dacia and in the Tithe-land, indeed, being settled in Roman territory.

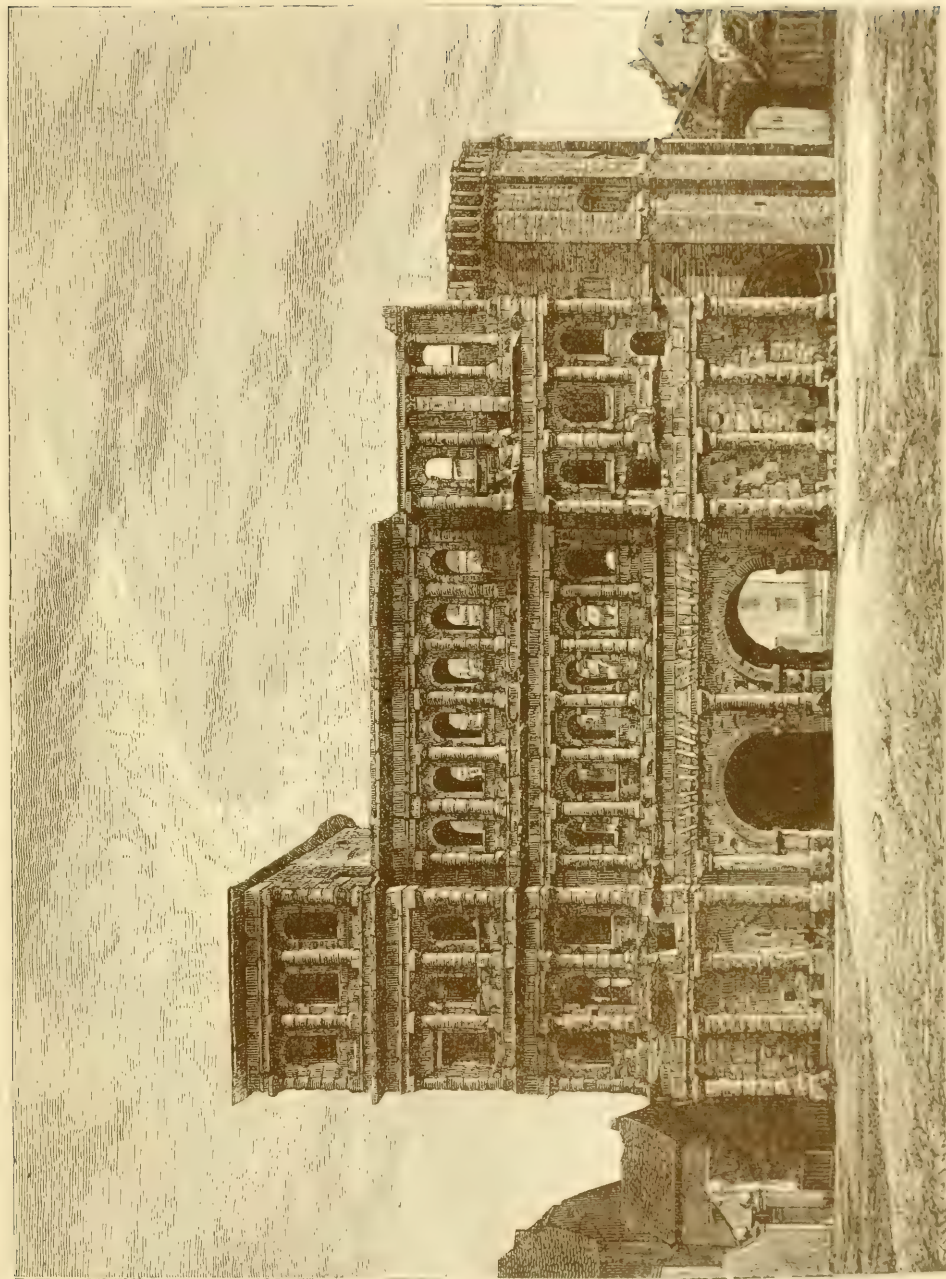
In this way is the fact to be explained that the Alamanni and Goths lost their native characteristics. From all quarters we learn that the old Alamanni had fair hair and blue eyes. Ausonius sings of a captive Swabian maiden :

Transferred to Latian blessings, still the fair
A blue-eyed German smiles, with yellow hair.

Today, on the other hand, the people of Württemberg and Baden are generally dark, the children, however, still showing traces of the early fairness of the race. In the districts conquered or gradually settled by the Germans, remnants of the older inhabitants still remained, with whom, and with thousands of later captives, the conquerors amalgamated. Roman villas and farm-buildings were still prominent objects (Fig. 74). Roman traders came and went, while the Alamannian youth returned home with stirring reports of the busy cities on the outside. Thus Roman influence made itself felt over all the old *Tithe-land*—in husbandry, architecture, and war. (Cf. Fig. 75.) Ammianus expressly reports that the houses lying nearer the Empire showed the Roman style, while the more remote dwellings consisted of small, Old German, wooden huts.

On the fertile heights of the Moselle, at the junction of eight military roads, lay Treves, in the Third and Fourth Centuries the capital of Gaul and the most flourishing city of the West. To this day its ruins—those of the imperial palace, the Circus, the *Porta Nigra* (PLATE XVII.), the Basilica, and the Cathedral—are mute but eloquent witnesses to its bygone splendor. All the elegance, luxury and culture of the South found admission and a home here; already by the beginning of the Fourth Century there were Christian churches in the city. Save in Rome and Constantinople, the later Roman Empire, with all its wealth of resources and costly art treasures, comes nowhere else so vividly before us as here on the Moselle. And the Moselle flows into the Rhine, and on the Rhine stood the Frankish warrior looking wistfully across toward his promised land. Behind him lay his colorless, every-day life; before him, gold and enjoyment; within, a heart pulsing with the spirit of poetry and daring.

The Danube, like the Rhine, was fringed with a rich border of cities, every one, more or less, a centre of Roman culture. Beside these dwelt the susceptible many-tribed race of the Goths, whose relations with the Empire became ever closer. For the Goth, Constantinople was what Treves was for the Frank. On the Bosphorus, Gothic envoys came into the presence of Constantine the Great, who decorated the foremost of them with titles and honors, so that not a few forgot to return to their sterile home. A part of this people lived already in a state of civilization approaching that of Roman cities. The Gothic Bible of Ulfilas, prepared shortly after the time of Constantine, testifies to a high culture in the former half of the Fourth Century, while the Romance speech of the Wallachians even at the present day shows how firmly Roman civilization had rooted itself in these regions. But culture brought *affinity*. When Julian was counselled to attack the Goths, he replied that he would seek worthier and weightier foes. "The Galatian traders



The Porta Nigra in Treves; view from within the city. A Roman work.
(From a photograph.)

are quite able to deal with the Goths, who are sold by them everywhere as slaves." Roman influence, the change to fixed settlements, the separation of tribes, party-spirit, and creeds, all operated to disintegrate this once adventurous race.



FIG. 75.—Chapel of Belsen, near Tübingen.—The structure itself was erected in the Middle Ages, but the boars' heads and the head of the ox built in the wall are Roman (*taurilia*): the human figures, however, are evidently either Teutonic or Celtic—more probably the latter, since the name Belsen is traceable to the Celtic goddess Belissama, whose name occurs on many inscriptions and is translated as Minerva. She stood in relation to Belen(us), the Celtic Apollo, who was often worshipped at hot springs. Near this spot are the sulphur springs of Sebastiansweiler. Hardly two miles distant is the village Neren, probably taking its name from Naria, a Celtic divinity worshipped also in Switzerland. These facts justify the conclusion that on the hill of Belsen was once a seat of worship for the Celts and for the Romans, which was transformed into a Christian church, in which the victorious Cross was erected above the symbols of a heathen faith.

Moreover, farther East, on the shores of the Black Sea, the Germans came in contact with foreign influences in such flourishing Hellenic cities as Chersonesus (Sebastopol) and Olbia. One section of them coalesced with barbarian tribes to form the so-called "Bosporic kingdom," which comprised half of the Crimea, and the slopes of the Caucasus on the farther side of the Gulf of Kertch. Very quickly Helleno-Roman culture asserted its supremacy here.

Two things, in particular, distinguish the later Germans, especially the Western, from those of Tacitus: the greater prevalence of fixed settlements, and the development of monarchy. This institution, which was now universal among the Germans, grew up from various roots, which, however, generally met in the habits of the people and the struggle for existence. Men realized, instinctively, in the intermingling of tribes, and in the conflicts and perils inseparable from their wanderings, how essential the kingly power was to give coherence and stability to a people. It is easy, therefore, to see how, in such circumstances, the leader in war or migration developed into a king. That, later, kings may have owed their elevation to other causes has been already indicated. The institution was particularly prevalent among the tribes along the Danube.

From the absence of national or even tribal unity, and the grouping of the people into little kin-circles or clans, it followed that the so-called kings were really only kinglets or chiefs with regal authority, ruling, generally, each over a limited district. From Ammianus we infer that there were at least eight Alamannian kings at one time, and probably more. Sometimes one of these kings, by virtue of his greater power or of his personal character, rose above the others. A long war, or other special circumstances, might give such a man authority over several districts or even over a whole people, in which latter case he became a real monarch like Marbod in earlier times, and later, the Ostrogoth Hermanric. But such things are exceptions to the general rule (Fig. 76).



FIG. 76. —Royal seal of Hermanric. (See page 453.)

No less various than the territorial extent of their power were the relations in which the kings stood to the people. On the whole, however, their power tended to grow. Most commonly the regal authority seems to have consisted in supreme power with the concurrence and co-operation of the people, the king thus representing the whole people and the still undeveloped state. He was leader in war, president in the folk-assemblies, protector of the common law; he issued edicts, and sent out and received ambassadors. His ordinary symbol was the lance. The

Frankish, and probably also the Alamannian, kings were distinguished by their long flowing hair. The Old German language has no word to express crown or diadem. A band of followers of high rank—in the case of Chnodomar, two hundred in number—gave protection and dignity to his person, as well as force to his orders. The people acknowledged him by an oath of fealty. In the name of the people, or already perhaps in that of the king, judges dispensed justice, and bailiffs executed the sentences. Among the Goths, hanging was the usual form of capital punishment; whipping was inflicted only upon the enslaved. Nobility and the clan-system gave way in most tribes before the growing power of the king, but, here and there, these continued to maintain themselves, as among the Saxons, Marcomanni, and Alamanni, among whom we meet with kings, a royal kindred, nobles, and the people or commonalty.

The right of succession to the throne varied. Among the Vandals it was strictly hereditary; while, it is said, the Burgundian kings might lose their position through a defeat in battle or a bad harvest. The concurrence of the people seems to have been stronger in the earlier times, and to have become gradually circumscribed by the claim of a single family to the right of hereditary succession. As a rule, the nearest male relative of the last king was elected, provided he were capable as a commander and nothing valid were brought against him. But it did now and then occur that several brothers succeeded simultaneously, and a sort of division of territory found place; this was a near approach to a divisible hereditary kingdom. The accession of one having no legal claim to the throne was sometimes confirmed by the symbolic act of raising him aloft on a shield. On the whole, the peculiar conjunction of the hereditary succession with the right of popular election is the distinguishing feature of the earlier monarchy.

Closely associated with the institution of monarchy were the relations of the people to a settled mode of living. The history of these relations may be roughly divided into three periods. The first comprises a portion of the prehistoric centuries, during which the earliest inhabitants of North Germany seem to have been, in a certain measure, sedentary. With the Cimbri we are introduced to the earliest distinctly recognizable migrations. These continued till the time of Julius Caesar and brought the Germans to the Rhine and the Danube, when the preponderating military power of Rome compelled a halt till the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Then another period of unrest set in, occasionally growing in intensity till it led to violent disruptions and the growth of the tribal system. The strengthening of the Empire by the Illyrian Caesars imposed another stay, first along the frontiers, then gradually in the inland. Suddenly

the Huns appeared and gave rise to the third great forward movement, under which the Roman Empire sank in ruins, and the third colonization-period developed itself—namely, that of the founding of German national states within Roman territory. Each of these periods is distinguished by constitutional characteristics. The earliest movement rested on the broad mass of the freemen; the second saw the evolution of petty monarchies; the third, that of great ones.

With the growth of settled habits came the idea of private property in land, originating primarily from the substitution of permanent dwellings for transportable ones. The house was surrounded by a fenced yard, to which the conception of private ownership was soon extended. Settled habits did not develop themselves among all tribes at the same time, nor in the same way. The Frisians were probably the first to attain permanent settlements, for, from the time of Tacitus down, we find them in the same district. The Saxons, on the other hand, were essentially migratory, and adhered to their old Germanic customs. Driven from Jutland by the Danes, and more gradually from the East by the Slavs, they were still able to send great swarms to England, as well as the Langobardi to Italy; not the less they maintained their national characteristics—a high regard for capability for self-defence, the prerogatives of the nobility and the power of public authority, so that among them monarchy was either absent or held a comparatively secondary place. A half-nomadic life still prevailed over the more fertile tracts in the wide plains to the north and east of the Sudetic and Carpathian ranges, which accounts for the ease with which the Huns made their advance. All these peoples, to whom we may add the Thuringians in Middle Germany, were but little affected by Roman culture.

It was otherwise, as already indicated, with the peoples on the Rhine and the Danube. Among them the Salic Franks between the Meuse and the Scheldt, and the Quadi and Marcomanni on the Middle Danube were the first to develop settled habits. To the movements of the other borderers a bound was set by the iron girdle with which Rome had environed herself, so that they also accommodated themselves to a fixed mode of living in their respective districts. The land may have been partly private property, partly owned by clans or communities, partly public domains. That reverent appreciation of husbandry as a calling, and that piety for the soil that nourished them, which later characterized the German peasants, had not yet developed themselves. Not rarely the master left his acres to be tilled by women and slaves, while he himself lay listless on his bear-hide or sallied forth to the hunt or foray. Men cultivated only as much as sufficed their bare necessities. When a dis-

trict became thickly peopled, they had either to clear and plough more extensively, or to have recourse to some other means of securing a living. This might be through some handicraft, or by sending forth the ever-willing youth on plundering expeditions into the enemies' land, or a portion might set out with family and goods in search of new fields. More and more, however, the Germans tended to become husbandmen, and primitive tillage duly gave way to the three-field or rotation system. The village arable lands were divided into three parts, each of which alternately was, as a rule, sown with winter- and summer-grain, and, in the third year left fallow. Every villager had his share in each of these three divisions—*i. e.*, his hide of land—together with a right of pasturage in the common uncultivated forest- and meadow-land. In some districts villages were frequent; in others, the habitations were few in number and were isolated. The villages were subject to communal regulation and were not private property. On the other hand, the scattered or isolated farms were free from communal control.

Forest and waste lands still predominated, and the arable lands were not always cultivated on a regular system. Various sorts of grain alternated with grass on the same piece of ground, and pasturage was often largely preponderant. Cattle and wild game were abundant, and generally of more account than crops. Among the Goths, husbandry was early the principal occupation. The ox threshed the corn by treading it; while the ass turned the millstone that ground it to meal.¹

Barley and oats were the staple grains, but wheat was also cultivated, as well as turnips, peas, beans, and lentils. Rye and spelt become apparent later. The Romans introduced the vine. Carefully cultivated gardens did not yet exist, or, at most, only as survivals in the Tithe-land and Dacia. The Goths had words for the vegetable garden and gardener,

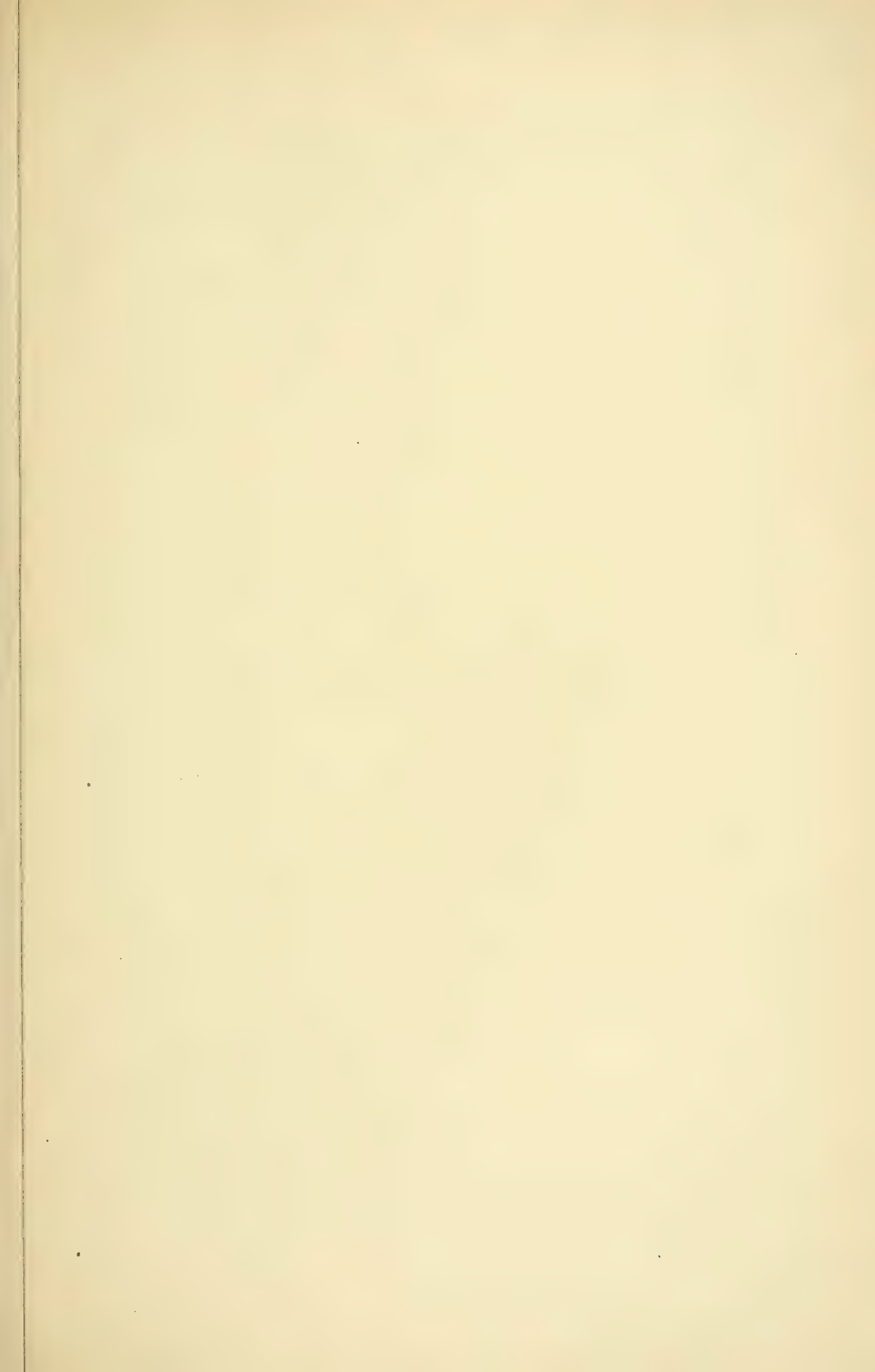
¹ This may have been true of the Goths after they came under Roman influence, but it was not so in Northern Europe. There the corn was ground in hand-mills or "querns." There they occur everywhere, and the museums are overstocked with them. I have come upon them lying in the barnyards of old cultivated farms in Scotland, and, even to this day, they are still in use in some of the smaller islands off the coast, where there is not crop enough to maintain a mill. The quern consisted of two circular stones, about 18 inches in diameter. The lower was flat underneath so as to sit firmly on the ground, and convex above. The upper one was saucer-shaped, concave on the under side so as to fit on to the lower stone, and convex above, with a hole at the apex to admit the grain, and one or more smaller holes on the side for the stick or handle that turned it. Two women standing opposite each other worked the mill. The one caught the handle when farthest from her and pulled it to herself; then the other seized it and pulled it to herself; and thus the mill went on without stop, a child feeding the grain.

According to some authorities asses are not supposed to have been known in North Germany, and probably not in Middle Germany, at this early period.—TR.

for room for pleasure-garden. In the woods were pears, apples, huckleberries, blackberries, and similar wild fruits.

Associated with agriculture was the rearing of cattle, often on a large scale. This is proved by the number of cattle carried off as booty by the Romans, or demanded as tribute. In Gothic the same word stands for cattle, property, and money. The ox was in universal use, and was of much value for the sustenance of man, for field-work and draught. The Alamannian cattle were renowned for centuries, and frequently purchased for export. Horses, too, were bred extensively, as might be expected from their use in war. The Emperor Probus mounted his cavalry on horses of German blood. The hosts of the Vandals consisted almost exclusively of cavalry. Sheep and swine were often in greater numbers than horses or oxen. Probus had already exacted a tribute of sheep as well as cows. The swine fed chiefly on acorns. Goats and fowls—geese, hens, ducks, pigeons, cranes, swans—were plentiful. Flesh, even that of the horse, was eaten, and washed down with beer or mead, which beverages did not always please the daintier palates of the later times; hence, wine was here and there to be seen. The chase yielded deer, hares, buffaloes, boars, bears, mountain-hens, and the like. The wild bees furnished a table delicacy and material for mead, and men soon began to hive and care for them. Carp and pike were abundant in the Danube, and salmon in the Rhine, while the brooks were stocked with trout. German fish used to be sent to Ravenna, for the table of Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths.

Not only did an extension of husbandry and its attendant conditions follow on the assumption of settled habits, but also a great reformation in the style of house-building. The old German house was gradually transformed and made more habitable, in accordance with the needs and customs of the various tribes, the following styles developing themselves: the Frankish, Upper German, the Saxon, the Friesian, and the Northern. Remains, too, of the Old Gothic or Vandal style are discernible. The Frankish farm-houses are of extended proportions, a circle of outbuildings surrounding the roomy, well-lighted family-house. It was otherwise with the Saxon. Here everything was concentrated under one roof, and arranged so as to constitute an easily-supervised, closely-compacted household. The difference in climate between South and Middle Germany and the North largely accounts for the difference in styles. In the times of which we write, the houses were still extremely primitive. From the Life of St. Severinus, compiled in the Fifth Century, we learn that the hut in which he dwelt was so low-roofed, that Odoacer, a tall, lank man, had to stoop so as not to strike the roof with his head. The











church consecrated by the saint near Passau, was a slight, wooden structure, set on fork-shaped piles to protect it against floods. The homes of the Goths were constructed of beams and boarding, with gables; they also dwelt in tents.¹ Even the Gothic church, about the year 372, appears to have been a tent-like structure. The home was generally surrounded by a hedge or by a fence of stone or wood. To a window the Goths gave the expressive name of "Eye-door."

Towns were still foreign to the Germans, to whom their close-packed house-masses, narrow streets, and high walls suggested prisons or cemeteries. The cities of the countries gradually occupied by them fell to ruins, while those which they stormed and plundered had bitter experience of their wanton love for destruction. Only among the strongly Romanized Goths do we find, in addition to villages and single farm-houses, such walled places (*baurgs* or *burghs*), but the village was ever the normal German home.

Still greater was the change which the Germans of this period experienced in the field of industry and in certain outward forms of living. The Romano-German culture-period came to an end, and in its place set in a purely German period—especially among the Alamanni and Franks. This may probably be best distinguished as the culture-period of the Great Migrations. It reached its highest point under the Merovingian dynasty, to be in turn superseded by the renaissance in the time of Charlemagne. We shall later examine it in detail; here we indicate only a few distinctive features.

It is an Age of Iron, in which Roman influence is not prominent. No filagree-work shows itself; in its place we have beads and the like. The style of ornamentation is peculiar, and is best seen in the now broad and flat, now round fibula—a fantastic plaited band adorned with heads of animals, commonly birds, horses or men. This ornament was much affected, plated with silver or gold, and set with stones, pearls, or paste (PLATE XVIII.²).

¹ It is not unworthy of note that the Old German house was not without relationship to those of other lands. Thus the East German touched in many points of its style the old Greek house: the Saxon, the Italian; the Upper German, the old Slavonic, and, probably, the old Celtic.

² EXPLANATION OF PLATE XVIII.

Period of the Great Migrations.—Ornaments and jewelry.

1. Silver brooch, $\frac{2}{3}$ original size. Gilded except the narrow zig-zag strips, and the heads of the animals on the under-side of the bow. From the graves of Nordendorf. Munich, Antiquarium.

2. Silver brooch. From the graves near Dürkheim, Rhine Palatinate.

3. Bronze brooch. Found in the graves (made of flagstones) near Nierstein. Mayence, Museum.

Two leading forms of sword appear, essentially different from the earlier—namely, the long sword or *spatha*, and the short sword—*sax* or *scramasax*. The latter—at first the more common—had a one-edged, straight blade, was of considerable weight, and formidable either as

4. Silver brooch. The ornamental inner spaces richly gilded. The strips on the edges, in the middle of the bow, and on the silver heads of animals, contain enamelled zig-zag decoration. The bow and the eyes of the animals were set with garnets. From the graves of Nordendorf. Augsburg, Maximilian Museum.

5. Buckle of silvered bronze. From the Frankish graves near Lyons.

6. Belt buckle of silvered bronze: $\frac{1}{2}$ original size. The sunken surface in the middle is set with red glass paste; traces of gilding on the edges and on the hook proper. The knob at the bottom, and the two birds' heads adjacent were inlaid with red glass. The lower end of the hook, which extends over the central piece, is made in the form of the head of a bird, with eyes of blue glass. This remarkable object is said to have come from Italy; in that case, it is a survival of the period of the Goths or Langobardi. Carlsruhe.

7. Iron belt buckle: $\frac{1}{2}$ original size, with silver incrustation. The broad disk above the hook alone shows traces of inlaid bronze. The round rivet bosses are of bronze. From the Frankish graves at Worms. Mayence, Museum.

8. Ornate strap-mounting of bronze: $\frac{1}{4}$ original size. From the grave-mounds of Wiesenthal, in Baden. Carlsruhe, Museum.

9. Bronze buckle, decorated with animal figures. From the Burgundian graves near Echadans, Pays de Vaud, Switzerland.

10. Bronze buckle, decorated with animals' heads and twists. From the Alamannian graves near Neftenbach, Canton Zürich.

11. Belt mounting of iron. In the serpent-like figures interlocked in the centre, the bounding lines, the claws, and the circular eyes are of inlaid bronze, while the remaining ornamentation is of silver inlaid. From the Frankish graves at Treves. Treves, Museum.

12. Round iron ornament, inlaid with bronze and silver. Found in Bavaria. Munich, National Museum.

13. Strap mounting of gilded bronze: $\frac{2}{3}$ original size. From the graves at Heidesheim. Mayence, Museum.

14. Bronze mounting for the end of a belt: $\frac{1}{2}$ original size. From a Frankish grave between Kostheim and Castel. Mayence, Museum.

15. Ornamental disk: $\frac{1}{2}$ original size. From the graves near Nordendorf. Munich, Antiquarium.

16. Ornamental disk of silvered bronze: about $\frac{1}{2}$ original size. From the graves near Nierstein. Mayence, Museum.

17. Ornamental disk of bronze: $\frac{1}{2}$ original size. The disk and its enclosing ring are attached to a strip of bronze, by which it was probably once fastened to a belt or some other object. In the disk itself a very rude representation of a human figure. Found in the graves near Krailsheim in Frankish territory. In private possession.

18. Gold disk: $\frac{2}{3}$ original size: decorated with silver studs, filagree work, and red glass paste. From the graves near Oberflacht. Stuttgart.

19. Ornamental brooch of silver: $\frac{2}{3}$ original size. In the band encircling the central boss are twelve red glass beads regularly varied by four green beads. The eight radiating bars contain pieces of red glass, while the quadangular spaces between them are filled with green glass. Of the four circular spaces only two now retain their glass filling, and these are red (above) and blue (below). The silver disk, which forms the upper surface of the fibula, or brooch, is rivetted to a bronze plate by means of bronze nails with silver heads; to this plate the pin proper is attached. Between these plates is a thin piece of sheet gold, with a rosette-shaped outline matching the enclosing pieces. Found in the graves of Odratzheim, near Strasburg. Strasburg.

20. Gold pendent ornament: original size. In the centre a fantastic animal, with

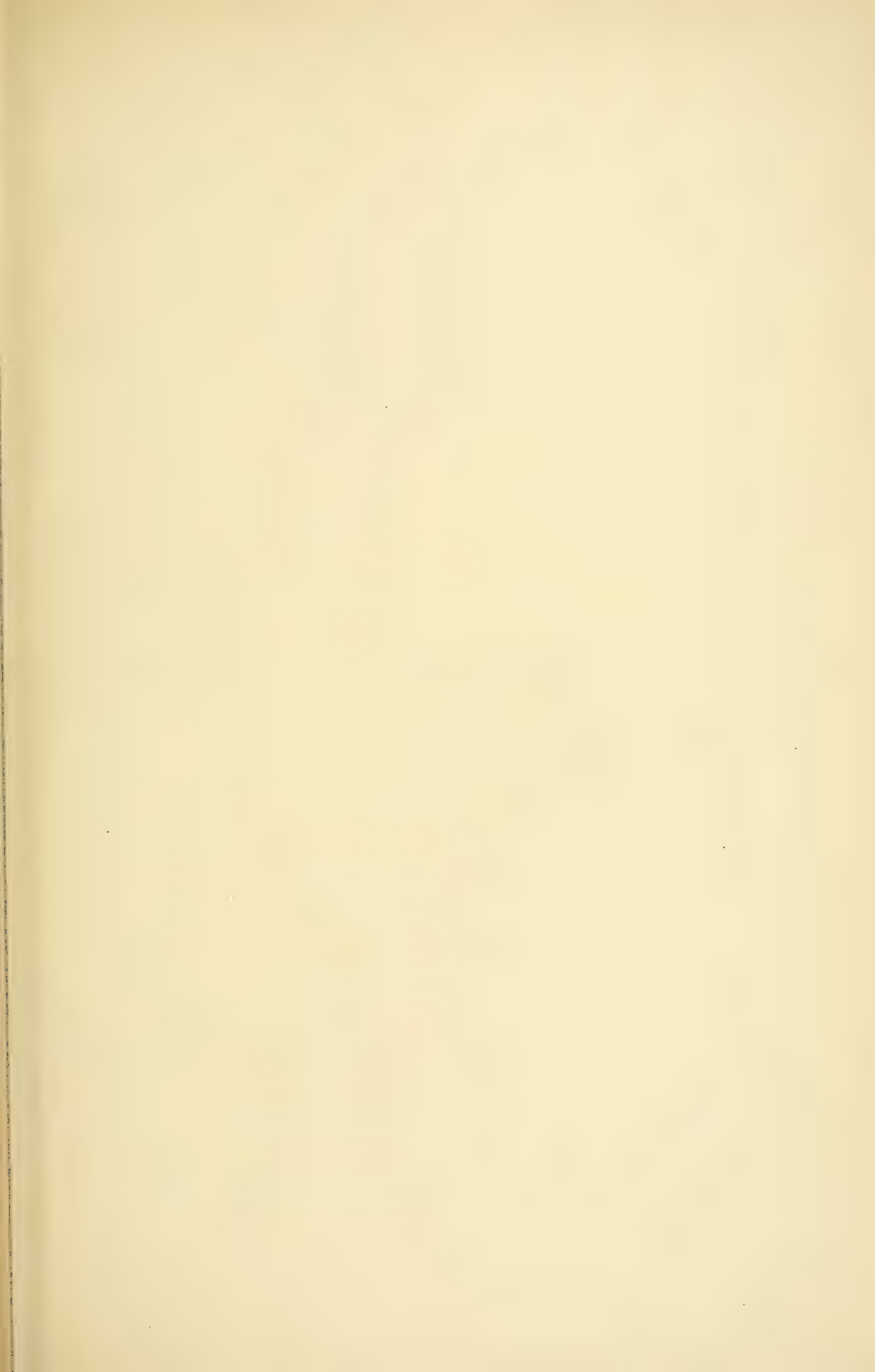
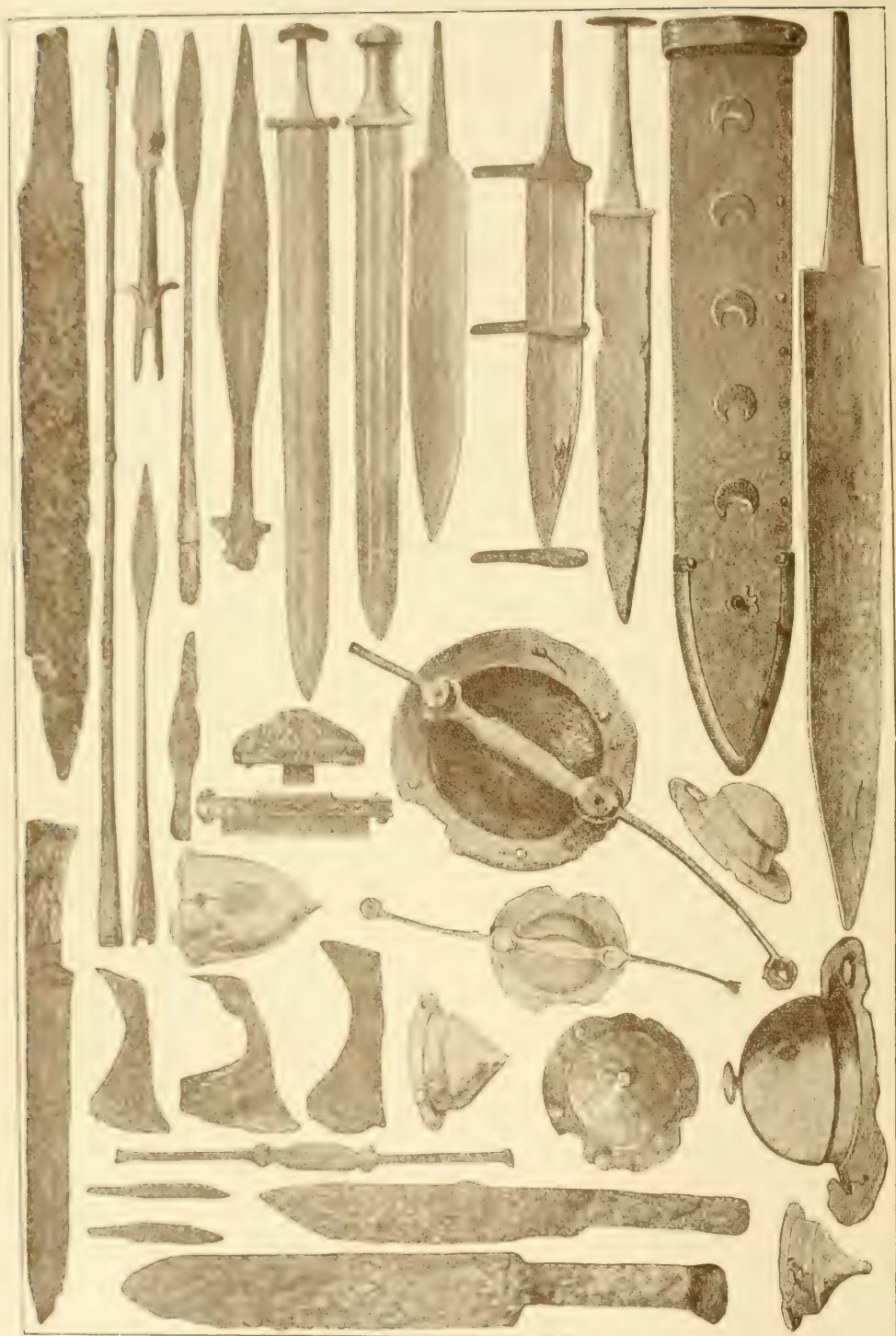


PLATE XIX



Period of the Great Migrations.—Weapons.

a cutting or thrusting implement, or as a missile. The long sword seems now to have been shaped somewhat after the later legionary weapon, but was longer and broader. It was two-edged and generally provided with a guard-rod. Rich warriors carried both weapons. They attacked with the long sword, but when it came to close quarters used the scramasax. Besides the swords, the battle-axe is worthy of attention (PLATE XIX.¹).

twisted filagree work filling the free spaces. In the nine holes in the bosses were once colored glass beads or jewels. Found near Wiesbaden. Wiesbaden, Museum.

21. Belt pendant of bronze. Munich.

22. Belt pendant, complete: $\frac{2}{5}$ original size. The short bronze rods in the chains are attached to each other by iron rings set in bronze knobs, which are ornamented by concentric circles. The chains are of different lengths, which regularly increase. The central chain branches into two parts, which are hung to a large bronze ring; at one extremity—as at the ends of the other chains—a Roman coin is attached; at the other extremity a flat disk ornamented on both sides, and taken from the crown of a pair of antlers. The coins are for the most part badly corroded, but appear to be those of Constantine the Great: one has on the obverse the well-known SOLI INVICTO COMITI, CONSTANS, VALENS, and MAGNENTIUS; reverse, GLORIA ROMANORUM. Found in the graves at Oberholm.

23. Belt pendant of bronze.

24. Bronze ear-ring, with pendant of white copper: original size. From the graves of Grosswinternheim. Mayence, Museum.

25. Golden finger-ring: original size, side view. In the centre of the disk is a representation of the head and shoulder of a barbarian, and on the four adjacent fields the figures of serpents. Inlaid with dark-blue enamel. Found in Mayence. In private possession.

26. Iron horse-bit: length, $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. From a Frankish grave at Heidesheim, near Mayence.

27. Bronze hairpin: $\frac{3}{4}$ original size. Of the Merovingian period. From the Alamannian graves in Sigmaringen.

28. Upper side of a comb, made of bone: $\frac{3}{4}$ original size. From the graves at Nordendorf. Munich, Antiquarium.

Nos. 1-5, 9-12 are from Lindenschmit.

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE XIX.

Period of the Great Migrations.—Weapons.

1. Scramasax. Munich.
2. Knife with horn handle. Munich.
3. Scramasax. Munich.
4. Knife resembling a scramasax. Munich.
5. Knife. Munich.
6. Part of an iron spear; length, 39 in. From the graves near Selzen.
7. Part of an iron spear; length, 15 in. From the graves near Oestrich in Rheingau.
8. Part of an iron spear; length, $20\frac{1}{2}$ in. From the graves near Darmstadt.
9. Head of a lance with part of the shaft. Munich.
10. Head of a lance.
11. Framea, or Germanic javelin.
12. Spatha; knob at the end, and rim of handle of bronze. Stuttgart, Museum.
13. Spatha; entire handle of bone. Ratisbon, Museum.
- 14, 15. Scramasax; front and side view. The blade is decorated with a strip of engraved ornament, now, however, corroded. Of the sheath, only the mountings, consisting of three ribbed bands of sheet-bronze, equal in length. Found in a "Totenbaum," from the graves near Oberflacht. Stuttgart, Museum.
16. Scramasax. From the graves at Oberholm. Mayence, Museum.

Helmets are rare. Either the head was left bare, or it was protected by a cap of leather or hide. Everyone carried a shield. This was commonly round, and of wood covered with leather or skin, with an iron boss in the middle. Besides sword and shield, the fully-armed soldier carried commonly a lance, battle-axe, and steel for striking fire.

Peculiarly characteristic of the period of the Great Migrations are buckles with decorated strap-tongues. The straps hanging downward were provided with silver-plated iron binding, with, not seldom, a solar disk in the middle, surrounded by a plaited band.

Whence the German style of working in iron took its origin has not been clearly ascertained. Most probably it was borrowed from Byzantium, but modified and developed. No German people fell so completely under foreign influence as did the gifted Goths under that of the Eastern Roman Empire. Their speech has the richest vocabulary of words expressive of workmen, their callings, and implements. We have in it the carpenter, the smith, the fisherman, the potter, the fuller, and the axe, the net, the pot, the needle, etc. Besides these, we have the tax-collector, the money-changer, the usurer, the horn-blower, surgeon, scribe, teacher, and scholar. By the Goths the new culture was furthered and propagated, especially throughout the great empire of the now semi-Germanized Huns. Its products clearly presuppose skilful craftsmen and a well-advanced style of workmanship, side by side with which there went out, as a matter of course, improvement in the practice of husbandry.

The changed modes of disposing of the dead strike our attention still more forcibly than do swords and ornaments (Figs. 77, 78). In place of cremation there came interment, and in place of urn-burial-places, grave-

17. Sheath of a scramasax; wood covered with leather; at the end the edges are kept in place by a strip of sheet-bronze, fastened by four stout bronze nails. From the graves of Sprendlingen.

18. Scramasax, to which belonged No. 17.

19. Franciska. Munich.

20. Franciska. Munich.

21. Battle-axe. Munich.

22. Shield-boss. Munich.

23. Shield-boss. From the graves at Sendling (near Munich). Mayence, Museum.

24. Shield-boss. From the graves near Flomborn, Rhine Hesse. Mayence, Museum.

25. Shield-boss. From the graves at Bierstadt, near Wiesbaden. Wiesbaden, Museum.

26. Shield-boss; greatest diameter, $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. Frankish graves at Heidesheim.

27. Shield-boss. From near Mayence.

28. Shield-boss, with iron bar forming part of the frame of the shield; traces of the wooden sheathing. From the graves near Darmstadt. Mayence, Museum.

29. Under surface of shield-boss, and frame as in No. 28; diameter $7\frac{1}{10}$ in. From the Frankish graves near Darmstadt.

30. Part of frame of shield. Munich.

Nos. 12-17, 23-27 from Lindenschmit.

rows (*Reihengräber*), whose name has even been given to the whole period. These consist of graves arranged side by side or in checker form, as we see them in the burial-grounds of our own day. These "*Reihengräber*"

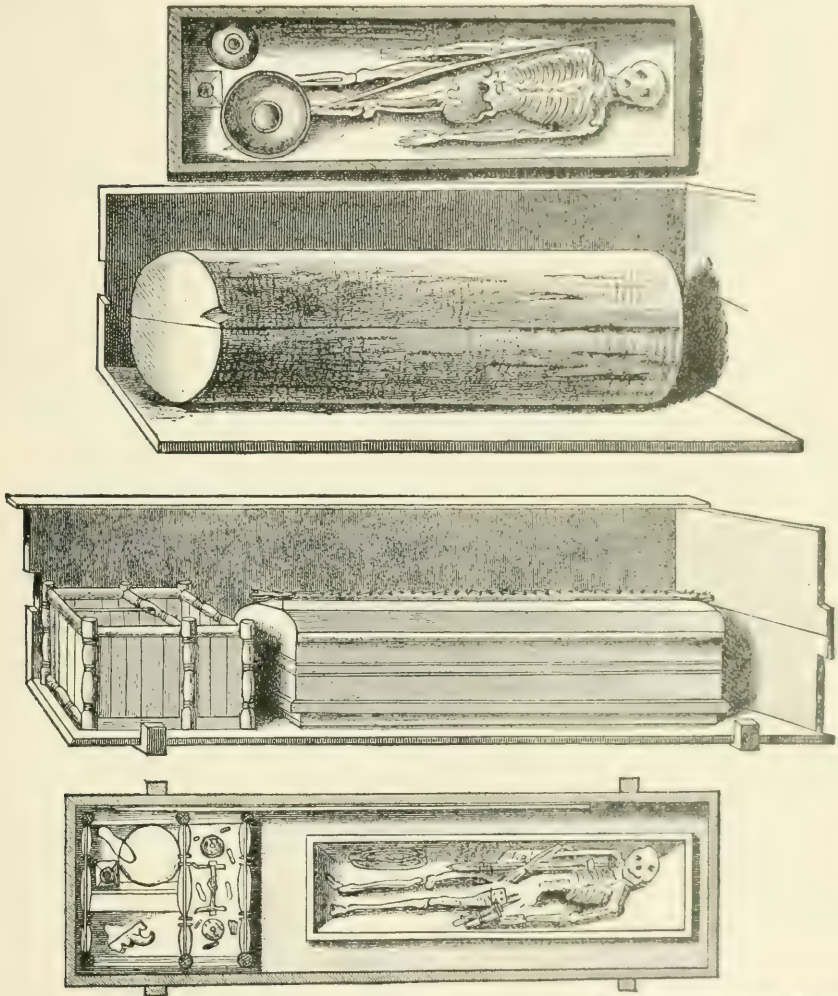


FIG. 77.—From the graves of Oberflacht. Simple burial tree "*Totenbaum*", open and closed.—Coffin enclosed in oaken planks, with a chest containing offerings for the dead. (*Jahresb. d. württ. Altertums-Vereins.*)

vary much in extent. One near Fridolfing on the Salzach has been reckoned to contain from 3000 to 4000 bodies, disposed in several layers, one over the other, and indicating a tolerably large settlement. The freemen were laid to rest fully equipped with their weapons; enslaved per-

sons, without weapons, and with little regard to order. The skeletons are much the same size as those of the present day.

The new culture appears to have spread but slowly from the South and

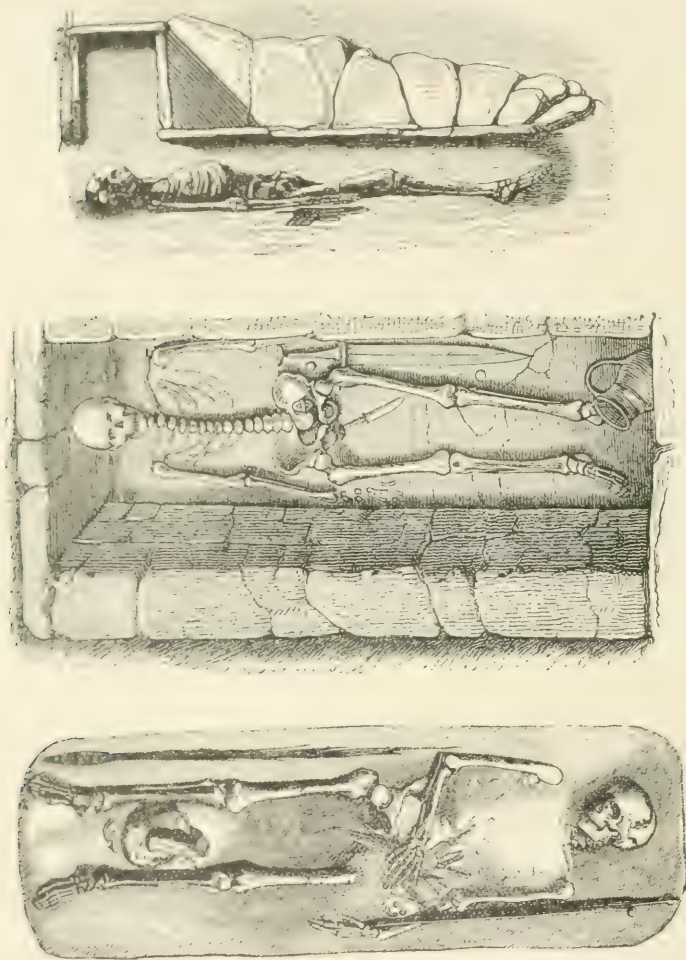


FIG. 78.—Grave composed of flagstones. In the Heuerfeld in Rhine Hesse.—Stone grave in the cemetery of Bel-Air, in Switzerland.—Burial without coffin; cemetery at Selzen. (After Lindenschmit.)

Southwest toward the North. When the above-mentioned graves were customary among the Alamanni and Franks, the Saxons of modern Hanover continued to deposit the remains of their dead in urns, and this custom passed from the Elbe and Weser to England and other lands.

Settled habits had promoted intercourse and traffic, which once more sank under the waves of the migrations. The long continuance in the practice of mere barter, and the want of a national currency, operated to limit commercial relations. Neither before, nor during, their migrations had the Germans a coinage of their own nor a system of money-reckoning. These they learned from the peoples they conquered.

The primitive German tongue appears to have had no dialects. Early, however, the North- and West-Germans—the Goths—seem to have become differentiated in speech from the South- and East-Germans. In Tondern near Schleswig a golden drinking horn, probably of the Fourth or Fifth Century, was found, bearing an inscription which points to a Northern speech-group, more primitive than the Gothic (Fig. 79).

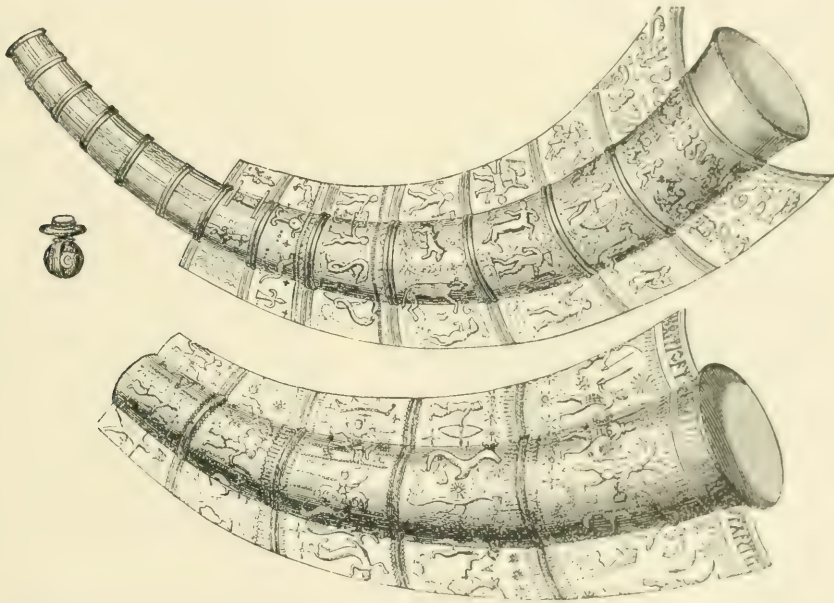


FIG. 79.—Golden drinking horns, found in Schleswig. Around the mouth of the lower horn is an inscription in Runes.

This latter, by the time of Ulfilas, is a distinct dialect, more closely related with the Northern. By help of it and other aids, we can occasionally trace gradual development. Among the peoples of Germany proper, there were, before the migrations, very slight shades of dialectic difference. Among the Franks the long *e* was more prevalent (Segimer); among the Alamanni the *a* (Chnodomar). Still, there must have been already differences, for the later dialect-groups correspond with

the tribal boundaries. The form of *Lautverschiebung* (progression of mutes—the principles of which are formulated in what is known as “Grimm’s Law”) peculiar to the High Germans could not, in any case,

	I.	II.		III.
f	ƿ	ƿ fé		ƿ
u	ᚢ	ᚢ úr		ᚢ
p	ᚱ ᚱ	ᚱ þurs, þorn		ᚱ
a	ᚦ	ᚦ óss		ᚦ
r	ᚱ ᚱ ᚱ	ᚱ reid		ᚱ
k	<	ƿ kaun		ᚱ
g	χ			χ
w	ᚱ ᚱ			ᚱ
h	ᚨ ᚨ	* hag(al)		ᚨ
n	ᚠ ᚠ	ᚠ nanð		ᚠ
i	ᚠ	ᚠ íss		ᚠ
j	ᚠ ᚠ	ᚠ á		ᚠ
eu	ᚠ ᚠ			ᚠ
p	ᚱ ᚱ			ᚱ
z, r	ᚠ ᚠ			ᚠ
s	ᚠ ᚠ	ᚠ sól		ᚠ
t	ᚠ	ᚠ týr		ᚠ
b	ᚱ ᚱ ᚱ	ᚱ bjaskan		ᚱ
e	ᚠ			ᚠ
		ᚠ loqr		ᚠ
m	ᚠ ᚠ	ᚠ maðr		ᚠ
l	ᚠ			ᚠ
ng	ᚠ ᚠ ᚠ			ᚠ
ô	ᚠ			ᚠ
d	(ᚠ ᚠ)	ᚠ ýr		ᚠ
			a	ᚠ
			æ	ᚠ
			y	ᚠ
			eo	ᚠ

FIG. 80—Runic Alphabets. I. Oldest Runic alphabets (the first, that of the Vadstena bracteate; also that upon the Charnay buckle). II. Later Norse Runes. III. Anglo-Saxon alphabet on the Thames knife.

have come into operation before the Sixth Century. In consequence of this law, the Germanic language became split up into three groups—Low, Middle, and High German. Of these, the Middle and High German constitute one group as opposed to Low German, or *Platt-deutsch*. The Old High German represents the earliest stage.

A peculiar style of writing also developed itself, that of the Runes. The Latin alphabet was taken as the basis, and modified according to need, new characters being devised to represent sounds wanting in Latin. The older the writing, the closer does it stand to the Latin alphabet. The material on which the characters were traced mainly controlled their form. This was commonly wood, and on it the characters were cut or scratched. The wood-fibre necessitated two things: first, that the letters must be of the same height; next, that the main stroke (*Stab*) must be perpendicular. Curved lines were difficult to make and were, therefore, changed to angular. Horizontal lines were changed to oblique and were shortened. It was said that Odin introduced the Runic characters into Scandinavia. With peculiar modifications the Old German Runic alphabet was the same for all the tribes from the farthest north to the Rhine and the Black Sea. This was possible only on the supposition that this alphabet was introduced at a very early period, and that it owed its origin to a single person. Even to the present day, the Runes have kept their place, especially in the North, as personal monograms or as marks for houses and villages, though no longer understood (Fig. 80).

A more veritable art-product was the Gothic alphabet of Ulfilas, which also owed its distinctive character to the material—parchment—on which it was inscribed, as well as to the fact that the Runic alphabet was, for Gothic, defective. Ulfilas took the Greek alphabet as his basis, adding some Latin and Runic characters, thus forming twenty-six signs. Gothic alone of German tongues had as yet become a really written language. The others yield us only bald inscriptions and the like. Still, we have reports that the Franks practised writing on tablets and smoothed sticks. The time was near at hand when the sons of Gothic princes were to read the poems of Virgil, and a Frank of rank was to be buried along with his stylus of bone and bronze.

Oral tradition, especially in the form of popular ballads and songs, still, in the main, supplied the place of written literature. The Emperor Julian testifies that the Franks on the right bank of the Rhine took great delight in these. The nascent royal courts were especially centres for this kind of poetry, and resounded with song and the minstrel's lay. In the Anglo-Saxon epic of *Beowulf* it is said of an assembly in King Hrothgar's hall:

There, were song and mirth in the hall united,
 The chords were touched, many a saw was spoken;
 There, Hrothgar's gleemen were wont, in the hall,
 To awaken joy all along the mead-benches.

Of the essentially German court of Attila, the ambassador, Priscus, tells that two men standing up sang his victories and his warlike virtues, whereupon a Scythian fool advanced and made excellent sport with his laughable antics. It was much the same in other courts. The minstrel was held in high repute, even the king himself not disdaining to practise this craft. The jester, too, a relic of the vanishing older life, was gladly seen. Then, as now, people liked to season earnestness with jest.

In the back-lying countries of Germany, the common people differed little from those of Tacitus. Thus of the Burgundians it is reported that they were boors, seven feet high, who ate hugely and stank of onions. Ammianus tells us that the Alamanni bore themselves at one time arrogantly, and at another, cringingly; the Franks, on the other hand, were unreliable, and fickle as weather-cocks. Side by side with failings lay many good qualities. Men and women impressed the beholder by their strong-built frames, their beauty and vigor. Of the Franks it is said that even in childhood war was their delight; overpowered, they knew no fear. Except walking, riding on horseback was practically the only mode of travelling. The few carriages of the great were still drawn by oxen, and even later we find this to be the case with the Merovingian kings. Lighter vehicles were common only among the people on the borders in contact with the Romans. The common draught-wagon consisted of a square body set upon four wheels.

The dress, too, of the inland people remained, like themselves, essentially unaltered. On the contrary, the tribes that held intercourse with the Romans adopted many changes. Their dresses were altogether richer, and occasionally of a peculiar, national stamp (cf. Fig. 81). Sidonius Apollinaris depicts a Burgundian or Gothic bridal procession, about the middle of the Fifth Century. The prince marched in shining purple, pure gold, and milk-white silk. His followers had their feet encased up to the ankles in furs. The thighs, knees, and calves were uncovered. They wore a tight-fitting, striped tunic that barely reached to the knee, with short armlets, and bound round the waist with an embossed leather girdle. Over this was thrown a war-mantle, dyed green, with a purple border. The sword hung from the shoulder. In the right hand were carried lance and missile-axe; in the left, the shield with burnished metal border. The lower orders of the Visigoths wore close-fitting, shirt-shaped—not always over-clean—tunics, belted with a skin or leather girdle, and, over

all, a fur garment. Their shoes were of horse-leather and fastened with thongs. Sidonius further describes the Frankish dress as consisting of a close-fitting garment bound round the body, and leaving the knees uncovered. Their weapons were the battle-axe, javelin, and shield. Very early the rich Alamanni showed a fondness for mantles interwoven with silver, a costume that Caracalla admired and imitated. Their poorer classes wore parti-colored woolen mantles, and linen or leather hose. A simple sole did duty for the shoe. All freemen cultivated long, flowing hair, which, in their wrath, they were wont to shake, as in scorn. Short



FIG. 81.—From the S. Paolo Bible in Rome. Germanic costumes. Of the Fifth Eighth Centuries. (From Lindenschmit.)

hair and a shorn beard indicated loss of freedom or honor, as did the wearing of a covering for the head. Only priests and persons of rank wore such covering. Some tribes knotted or plaited the hair, and women, especially, affected cues. War sometimes led to a change of garb, captured articles being gladly appropriated, now and then a helmet or piece of mail. Men of rank were especially distinguished for the elegance of their equipment (Fig. 81). Although the lance, often of great length, continued to be the national weapon, the sword came more and more into use. The Goths were especially expert in throwing the formidable war-club.

Different peoples preferred different weapons; Jordanes, for example, says: "The Goths were seen fighting with the spear, the Gepidae raging with the sword, the Alans in heavy armor, and the Heruli in their light equipments." While the boss of the Alamannian shield was hat-shaped, with a knob in the centre, that of the Bavarians was conical. The



FIGURE 1. Silver brooch. Original size: front and rear view. From the graves of Nordendorf near Augsburg. This piece of jewelry is gilded, except the strips of inlaid enamelled zig-zag ornament. The first two lines (runes) have been explained by F. Dietrich, as follows: *lóná thioré* (for *dioré*) *Vôdan vinuth lônáth*, 'with precious reward does Wodan reward friendship.' Below: *athal* or *abal* *Leubvinis*, 'property' (?) or 'work of Leubvini.' But these readings are very doubtful.

Frankish battle-axe—the *franciska*—was furnished with a curved handle, so as better to serve as a missile, while this was seldom the case with the Alamannian weapon.

It was the custom to sit at meals, not to recline, as with the Romans. On the tables of the Goths, Greek and Roman wine-vessels stood beside the Gothic goblets and drinking-horns.

Constant war had led to great improvement in tactics and strategy.

The Germans seem to have especially understood how to take advantage of the conformation and other peculiarities of the ground. As a rule, the army was divided, after the old fashion, into thousands, hundreds, and tens; banners borne by standard-bearers floating over their masses. The traditional wedge was still the favorite formation for attack—sometimes a single wedge, sometimes several side by side, and flanked by cavalry. Close-set, and covered on all sides with shields, the wedge advanced, the point foremost, to the attack. In the front rows were the men armed with long spears, while, covered by them, the javelin-men, archers, and slingers, hurled their missiles from the ranks behind. The first onset on the broad phalanx was often irresistible, but generally soon became a hand-to-hand conflict. To this style of combat the warrior had accustomed himself from his youth, and in it his strength and agility told to most advantage. He seized the missiles sticking in his adversary's shield, and tried to tear it from him, or to split it with a mighty blow, so as to cut him down when thus rendered defenceless. The special excellence of the wedge-formation lay in its capability for breaking the enemy's line. For defence it was less calculated. This was supplemented by abatis, entrenchments, and ditches.

The horsemen rode swiftly on, and as swiftly turned back. They employed no missile, but trusted solely to the weight of the horse and the lance laid in rest for the charge. Though not technically disciplined, they were steady in their movements, and often fought intermixed with the footmen. In the hand-to-hand fight, they not rarely sprang from their horses and did battle on foot.

The Germans understood little about the employment of reserves, and hence lost many a fight, while their ardor for battle admitted of but little manoeuvring; but they knew how to operate by ambuscades and by the rapid formation of new columns of attack, in the very heat of fight. Their whole war-system followed as a consequence from the attitude of their leader, who did not order the fight, calm and secure, from a distance, but who fought, wherever possible, among the bravest in the front. Men fought most willingly with the "Wagon-fort" at their back, for this constituted a sort of fortress, excellently adapted to shelter the fleeing, and to impede the progress of a pursuing enemy. This Wagon-fort was circular, and consisted commonly of several concentric rows of the square wagons of the Germans, arranged wheel to wheel, with several narrow entrances. Sometimes, if circumstances required it, they were arranged in straight lines.

The times when the Germans ventured to attack the Romans only under particularly favorable conditions were now past. In accordance

with their strong preference for decisive battles, so soon as they felt themselves strong enough, they gladly measured themselves with their arrogant foe. Otherwise their campaigns resolved themselves into a series of petty engagements.

Soothsayers and priests used to accompany the armies to the field, to narrate the issue of the fight, for the mass of the Germans were still pagan. Of the Alamanni, a Greek convert said: "They reverence

trees, streams, and springs, hills, and ravines," from which we infer that such objects were wont to be consecrated to one or other of the gods. Mineral springs and streams were regarded as special gifts of the gods, and bloody fights were wont to take place for their possession. Side by side with nature worship, the practice of representing the gods as distinct personalities had taken root. In 612, the missionaries Columban and Gallus found, at Bregenz in Switzerland, three gilt brazen images—probably Roman statues—that were regarded with special reverence. At the Lake of Zurich, Gallus came upon idols to which victims were offered. Love-pledges were drunk to Odin out of a great caldron. The Nordendorf Runic inscription has been interpreted (Fig. 82): "With high reward, Odin recompenses friendship." In East Franconia a goddess was worshipped, who, in the Life of St. Kilian, is called Diana, and who continued to be revered by the Duke of Franconia in the Seventh Century. Among the Alamanni, the war-god Ziu (Tiw) was the chief object of adoration. Not far from Stuttgart a male statue has been disinterred, greater than life-

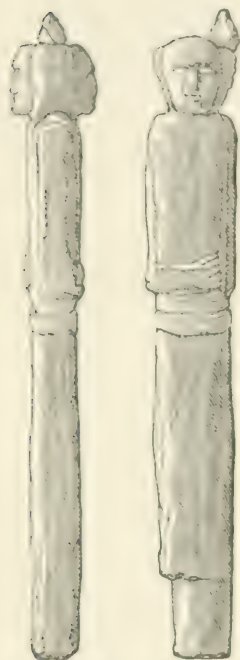


FIG. 83.—Ancient Germanic figure: front and side view. (Schriften d. württ. Altertums Vereins.)

size, and having a double head, like Janus. Probably, after the example of the Romans, the images of the gods were set up in little wooden fanes. When the Goths fled before the Huns, they carried off such sacred objects in wagons, with their priests and priestesses (Fig. 83). The high-priest of the Burgundians held his office for life, while the king was liable to deposition. A statue is still in existence, found in Alamannian territory, with a great beard, cues hanging down on both sides and rolled up at the bottom, and a long girdle; it is supposed to represent a heathen priest (Fig. 84). It may, however, belong to the Christian period. Horses,

oxen, and other animals, were offered in sacrifice, the best piece, especially the head, being presented to the divinity.

On the Roman frontier, the new doctrine of a crucified Saviour began to encroach on heathendom. It had, especially, struck deep root in Treves, a city of the highest importance for the West Germans. Even so early as the time of Constantine, Christians were to be found in the valley of the Rhine, and by the beginning of the Fourth Century, also among the Alamanni. As a whole, however, this people, with true Swabian conservatism, remained longest pagan. Even in the Sixth Century, they ruthlessly destroyed churches and altars. Captives, Romanized Germans, missionaries, exiles, and traders, were the main agents in bringing Christianity over the Rhine and Danube. At the period of which we now treat, it was only among the Visigoths that it had gained any considerable influence. Already, in 325, a Gothic bishop took his seat in the Council of Nice; but it is in Ulfilas (Wulfila) that we are to recognize the true spiritual hero of this people.



FIG. 84.—Figure of a heathen priest in stone. (After Sattler.)

Ulfilas is supposed to have been born of Cappadocian parents, in the country of the Visigoths, in the year 311 or 318. Under the instructions of an Arian priest, he acquired an accurate knowledge of the Gothic, Greek, and Latin tongues. While yet a youth, he came with an embassy to the court of Byzantium, and, in 341, was consecrated, at Antioch, Bishop of the Goths. His earnestness, elevation of character, and eloquence soon attracted a large following. Even the Orthodox and pagans, while hating, could not but respect, him. One of the former writes: "The Goths hung on his words, did whatever he told them, and could not believe that anything he recommended could be otherwise than right." The want of a common national head, and the ambition and rivalries of men high in power, helped on his cause, till its success awakened a pagan reaction, with Athanaric, the ultimately successful competitor for the throne, at its head. Ulfilas saw his newly-created charge so seriously threatened, that he begged Constantine to receive him and his followers into the Empire. The little Gothic Arian church found a new

home near Nicopolis in Moesia, where, by the Sixth Century, it had grown into a numerous body, consisting mainly of peace-loving shepherds and husbandmen. Ulfilas's greatest work was the translation of the Scriptures into Gothic, which constituted him the Luther of his people. This was no light task, for the Gothic vocabulary was inadequate to express the deeper meanings of the Bible, while its alphabet was ill-adapted for writing. He had to assume the rôle of an original creator, and in this way was produced not only the first German Bible, but the earliest specimen of German prose. Of the original 330 leaves, 177 are in Upsala, and smaller fragments in Wolfenbüttel, Milan, and Turin; the former in silver and gold letters on purple parchment (PLATE XX.¹). Even externally regarded, it stands as a noteworthy land-mark of the art and patience of the early Germans.

The first populous Christian community born on German soil led a fugitive and exiled existence: the first serious Christian assault on Old German heathendom was not successful. Stronger revolutionary conditions were needed to secure a victory.

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE XX.

Facsimile of a page of the Codex Argenteus of Ulfilas's Gothic Translation of the Bible: St. Mark vii. 3-7. Upsala.

TRANSCRIPTION.

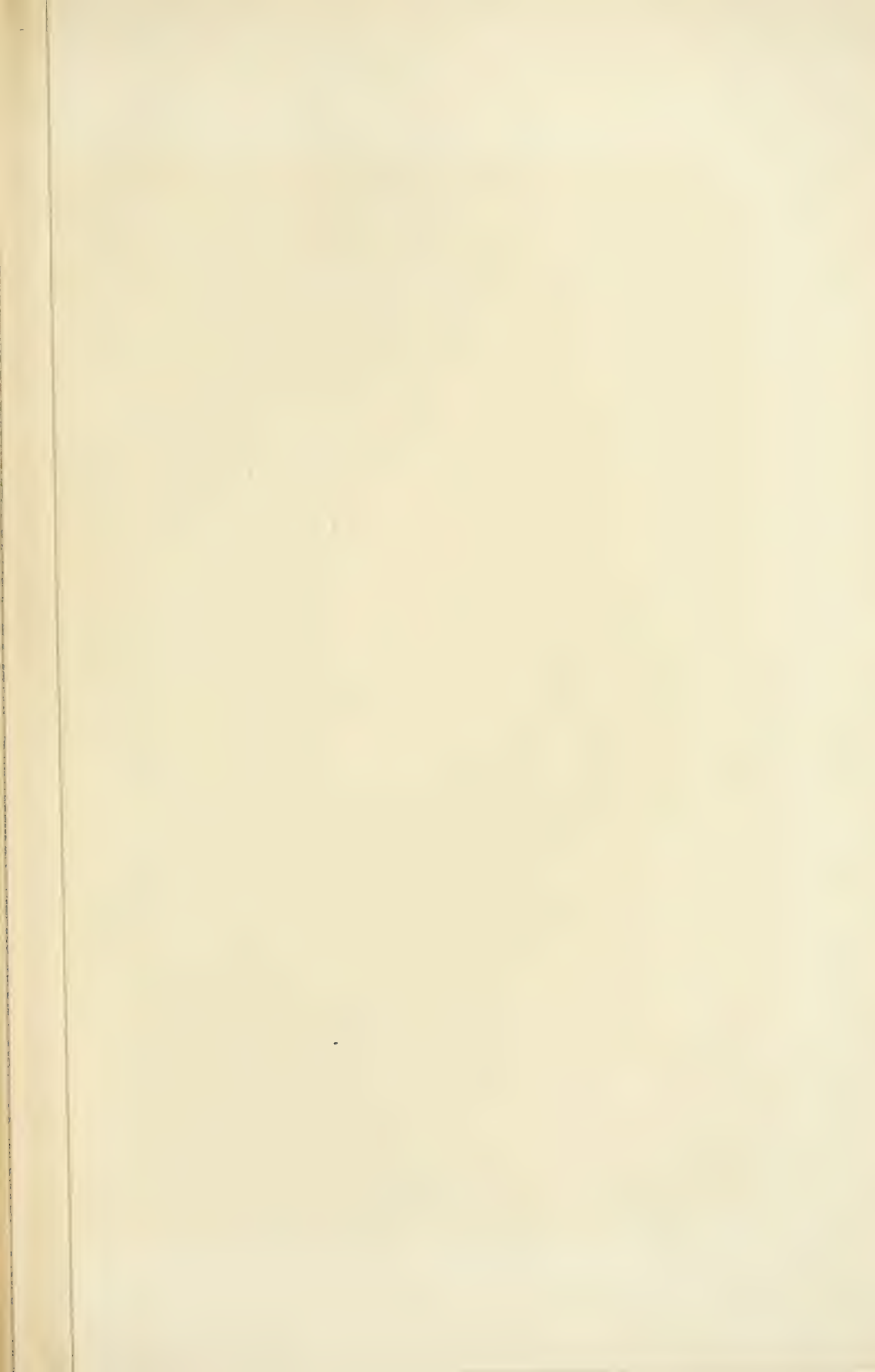
· þairh ·

iudaeis niba ufta þwahand han
duns ni matjand. habandans
anafilh þize sinistane. jah
af maþla niba dauþjand ni mat
jand. jah anþar ist manag þa
tei andnemun du haban daupei
nins stikle jah aurkje jah ka
tile jah ligre: þaþroh þan fre
hun ina þai fareisaieis jah þai
bokarjos. duþwe þai siponjos
þeinai ni gaggand bi þammei ana
fulhun þai sinistans. ak un
þwahanaim handum matjand
hlaif. ip is andhafjands qap (*read: kwap*)
du im. þatei wailla praufetida
esaias bi izwis þans liutans
swe gameliþ ist. so managei
wairilom mik sweraip. ip air
to ize fuirm habaip sik mis. ip
sware mik blotand. laisjandans

mr mp ioh luk
 rnd

TRANSLATION.

St. Mark vii. 3-7: [3. For the Pharisees and all the] Jews except they often wash *their* hands eat not, holding the tradition of the elders. 4. And *when they come* from the market, except they wash, they eat not. And many other things there be which they have received to hold, *as* the washing of cups and pots and kettles and beds. 5. Then asked him the Pharisees and book-people (scribes), Why do not thy disciples walk according to the tradition of the elders, but, with unwashen hands, eat bread? 6. He, answering, said unto them, Well hath Esaias prophesied of you hypocrites, as it is written, This people, with *their* lips, honour-eth me, but their heart holdeth itself far from me. 7. Howbeit in vain do they worship me, teaching [for doctrine the com-mandments of men].



中

I N S A I E I S N I B A N F T A P Y A P A N S H A M
 A N N S M I H T C A N S . H A B A N S A N S
 A N A K I A H P I Z E S I N I S T A N E . C A H
 A P H K P A A M I B A Z A N I C A N S N I E N T
 C A N S . C A B A M P A K I S T H A M A T P A
 T E I A N S M E R I O N S H H A B A N S A M M E I
 N I N S S T I K K E C A M A H K K C E C A H K A
 T I A E C A H A H K E . P A K K A H P A H K E
 H O N I N K A H K A C E H A I E I S C A H M
 K A K A C A H . A M O E P A I S I H O T C A S
 P E I M A M I T A T A M K Y I P A H H E I A M K
 E B A P I N P A I S I N I S T A N S . A K I N
 I N S A I E I S N I B A N F T A P Y A P A N S H A M

IMMIF IPRIANIMAKSALIMIP
MIM FATEIYAMAKKAKETESK
ESNIAZBIZYISYANSAITANSI
SYETANEIMIST SANNANDEI
YAIKLAHHNIKSYEKIMF. IPRIAK
TXIZEFRIKKALIMIPSIKIMISIP
SYAKENIKKAXTANS. NISGAKKAS



FACSIMILE OF A PAGE OF THE CODEX ARGENTEUS OF ULFILAS'S GOTHIC TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE.
ST. MARK, VII. 37. (UPSALA.)



PART II.

THE MIGRATIONS OF THE NORTHERN TRIBES.

CHAPTER X.

THE HISTORICAL SOURCES.

THE revolutionary conditions that followed in consequence of the invasion of the Huns conduced greatly to the composition of history; and this in spite of the fact that, as the capacity of the Western Empire for active exertion sank lower and lower in Italy, its fall was accompanied by the cessation of all literary work, and especially of all historical studies. Men were stupefied. The masters had become servants; the servants, masters. But the new lords were men of another stamp, and wielded the sword instead of the pen. Politically and intellectually Byzantium had attained the ascendancy, but its own history was so engrossing that it sheds only occasional and unsatisfactory gleams on the history of the West.

Up to A. D. 378, Ammianus Marcellinus is still our guide. He depicts in lively colors the entrance of the Huns on the stage of the world's history, as well as the wars of the Goths in the Empire. For the reign of Theodosius, too, the sources are abundant, though of unequal value. The heathens were still persuaded that the state would endure forever, and that every calamity was but a chastisement inflicted by the deserted gods. The Christians, on the other hand, saw only evil in the ancient commonwealth; they sought to bridge over the cleft between Romans and barbarians, preached the doctrine of universal brotherhood, and recognized salvation only in the kingdom that is not of this world—in their victorious faith. Into the midst of this conflict Theodosius was projected, and as he took a decided stand on the side of the Gospel, he receives much attention from the majority of the historians of both parties.

Among the heathens, we find the rhetorical Greek sophist Eunapius still writing in 414; and Zosimus, a fiscal official living probably in the early part of the Sixth Century, whose history reaches down to 410—

both hostile to the emperor. As a counterpoise to these, we have the too short epitome bearing the name of Aurelius Victor. The works of Aurelius Symmachus, a finished orator and high official, who died in 403, though not properly historical, are of importance in virtue of the speeches, letters, notices, etc., contained in them. Besides these, we have the Greek rhetoricians, Themistius and Libanius, and the Latino-Gallic Pacatus Drepanius, who composed a panegyric on Theodosius.

Among Christian sources, three church-historians are pre-eminent, who begin with 325—where Eusebius leaves off—and continue down to their own times. These are Socrates, who comes down to 439; Sozomen, to 415; and Theodoret, to 429: the first sober-minded and accurate; the second depending upon other writers; the third, though occasionally affected in style, valuable on account of the original documents communicated. Rufinus, a short-sighted, prejudiced man, brings his ecclesiastical history down only to the death of Theodosius (395). The seven books of Orosius reach to the year 417; they are brief and somewhat bald, but present us with decidedly noteworthy sketches, although not always based on accurate knowledge, and tainted by bitter hate of the heathen. All these Christian authors are thoroughly Catholic or Orthodox. As a counterpoise to them, we can adduce only the historical work of the Arian Philostorgius.

Most of the above-mentioned authorities reach down beyond the time of Theodosius I., giving us also the history of his successors. For Stilicho, the main store of materials is found in the poems of the panegyrist Claudius Claudianus (Claudian), who, however, celebrates his hero less from the point of view of the partisan than as a man claiming respect in virtue of his personal qualities; unfortunately Claudian stops short at 404. The Chronicle of Prosper, and the meagre Ravenna Annals, may also be mentioned. The letters and eulogies of Apollinaris Sidonius on the emperors Avitus and Majorian shed much light on an otherwise obscure period. There is also a remarkable document, the *Notitia Dignitatum*, an official register of the civil and military offices of the Empire, compiled by an unknown writer in the beginning of the Fifth Century.

Of the Greek historians, several are lost, but we have the work of the trustworthy Zosimus, ending in 410, the only one that gives a full account of the times of Alaric. Concerning the Huns and Attila, Priscus, in his admirable Byzantine History, gives us valuable information based on his own observation. The Goth Jordanes—the earliest native German author—is also worthy of note, though his accounts rest not rarely on a somewhat shallow foundation, and are permeated with legends. Inscrip-

tions and coins are of less importance for this period than for the former ones.

The inner life of the Germans remains, in great measure, hidden from us. Here and there only, a gleam of information is shed on it. To his contemporary Greeks and Romans the fair-haired barbarian was now an every-day object, so that they no longer deemed it necessary to give, like Caesar and Tacitus, detailed information regarding him.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE IRRUPTION OF THE HUNS TO THE DEATH OF THEODOSIUS THE GREAT.

(A. D. 375-395.)

THAT wide expanse of plain stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea, easily traversed in summer by light vehicles and in winter by sledges, has been, from the earliest times, the great route leading from Asia to the heart of Europe. About the year 370, there entered here into the field of history a people hitherto almost unknown, and probably of Uralo-Finnic race—namely, the Huns. They came hither from that fatherland of nomadic peoples, the vast steppes of Central Asia, and have been supposed to be allied to the Hiongnu, who are said—probably incorrectly—to have made their appearance in Chinese history as early as two thousand years before Christ.

Ammianus depicts the Huns (apparently under the influence of Gothic accounts) as a people, who in respect of ferocity and savageness, left all others far behind. On a low-set, strong-boned body sat a disproportionately large head, while their beardless faces, perforated cheeks, and slit-like glittering eyes lent additional hideousness to their figures. They clothed themselves in skins and a coarse stuff made from flax, which were worn till they fell in pieces from their bodies. Their horses were little, shaggy, tough animals, and rider and horse seemed to have grown together into one individual. On horse-back they did almost everything—bought and sold, ate and drank, even slept. On horseback they also held their folk-meetings, and instead of cooking their meat they rode sitting on it till it was tender. They had neither house nor hearth, but wandered about incessantly, carrying all their scanty property with them in little wagons. Monarchy was not fully developed among them on their first appearance. Under the leadership of chiefs, they entered the fight, first thinning the ranks of the enemy by a shower of arrows, and then storming forward with wild yells. If they met with obstinate resistance they galloped back, to renew the attack almost on the instant, in the hope of riding down the foe. In close combat they fought without protection, a sword in the one hand, and in the other a noose with which they endeavored to enmesh their enemy while he was parrying their blows. Of duty and faith they had no idea. They had learned from childhood to endure

cold, hunger, thirst. Although nomads and entirely devoid of culture, they understood how to combine celerity of movement with operations in large masses, and in the conduct of their enterprises they could always keep the main end in view.

Already in the Second and Third Centuries they seem to have been roaming through the regions to the north of the Caucasus or those between the Volga and Ural. Then, unknown causes set them in motion, and about 372 they crossed the Volga. They first encountered the German Alans, whom they scattered. A section of the dispersed people took refuge in the mountains of the Caucasus, where their posterity remained for many centuries; another retired toward the West or Northwest and allied themselves with the Suevi and Vandals, along with whom they came, later, into Gaul and Spain. A third section attached themselves to their conquerors, and co-operated with them in their attack on the nearest neighboring people—the Gutans or Goths.

Among the Goths a period of comparatively peaceful development had set in. The strengthened Roman Empire and the waters of the Black Sea had set bounds to their advances, and they had been compelled to adapt themselves, in some measure, to settled habits and fixed dwelling-places. They had not yet, however (at least not everywhere, especially in the East), reached that point in which the conception of private property in land develops itself. Ever since their entrance into history, their system of government had been monarchical, and now, through it, the whole fabric of their state had been brought into a state of commotion. After the rule of earlier kings, there began with Amala that renowned dynasty to which he gave name (Amals, Amalings). Not till the reign of Ostrogotha, however, in the middle of the Third Century, do we reach firm historical ground. Under him the Gothic arms became formidable to the Romans as well as to the Gepidae. One of his successors, Geberic, subdued the Vandals of Dacia, and here the conquerors began to extend themselves. Hermanric, “the most glorious of the Amals,” won even higher fame, and advanced the dominion of the Goths as far as the Upper Volga.

Under him came to pass the political partition of the race, which, originating probably in old tribal distinctions, was widened by the occupation of different places of settlement. The Goths of the West (Visigoths) received the name of “Thervings,” or inhabitants of the forest-regions; the Eastern Goths, or Ostrogoths, that of “Grunings,” or dwellers on the steppes. The physical character of their respective districts necessitated the development of different economical conditions, while, in addition, the Visigoths, as neighbors of the Romans, were more

subject to civilizing influences. While the Ostrogoths concentrated themselves under Hermanric, Athanaric, the Balt, appeared as head of the Visigoths. His strong aspirations after supremacy met with opposition from both the tribal princes and the new communities of Christians. The most of the latter, indeed, emigrated. But a dangerous rival arose in Fritigern, who was able to concentrate all the power of the opposition. A battle was fought, Fritigern was worsted, and fled with his followers into the Empire. He was always, however, in a state of readiness to return, and still counted numerous adherents in the old home-land.

The kingdom of the Ostrogoths, too, seems to have become disintegrated through the sedition of some of the races it had subdued, and ere it had passed this crisis, it was stricken by a crushing onset of the Huns. Hermanric offered the best resistance he could, but, when he saw all was in vain, worn out by sickness and age, he put an end to his existence. His kingdom fell to pieces, an issue precipitated by the unsettled life of the people. Gesimund seems to have administered one half under Hunnish supremacy, while the remainder, with Winitha, the Amal, at their head, strove to re-establish their national existence by renewed subjugation of the Slavs. In vain: Winitha also succumbed to the superior force of the Huns, and fell in the field. The marriage of his niece with the Hunnish khan, Balamir, seemed to insure, for the immediate future at least, the continuance of the Ostrogoths under their own kings within the empire of the Huns. One branch only withdrew with Wideric, their late king's little son, and after long wanderings appeared before the Roman fortresses on the Danube frontier. Some individuals who preferred freedom to retention of their possessions, united themselves with the Visigoths, against whom the Huns next directed their attack.

They came upon the Visigoths, who had been weakened by the migrations under Ulilas and Fritigern, were honey-combed by dissensions, and in the throes of transition toward a comprehensive absolute monarchy. Nevertheless, Athanaric did not despair, but retired to an entrenched camp on the Dniester. The cunning foe passed the river on horseback on a clear moonlight night, and threw themselves suddenly on his flanks and rear. With the loss of many men, Athanaric succeeded in extricating his army from its perilous position, and in leading it eventually to the mountains of Transylvania, where he established himself in an inaccessible fort of the Sarmatians.

Booty-laden, the Huns pressed ever farther westward, driving the terrified masses before them. "Soon the most frightful rumors spread through the interior of the Roman Empire, concerning the movements among the Northern races. It was said that, from all the regions of

the Black Sea to the countries of the Quadi and Marcomanni, a medley of barbarian tribes, hitherto unknown, were marching along the banks of the Danube." So tells us the contemporary Ammianus.

Athanasius's misfortune seems to have come in good stead for Fritigern, who appears to have extended his authority over the Goths on the frontier. But, on the other hand, the pressure of the Huns became more intense, and the conviction became ever more widely disseminated that only beyond the Danube and on Roman soil could the Visigoths look for security. Dense masses congregated themselves under Fritigern and Alaviv on the left bank of the stream and dispatched envoys to the Emperor Valens, with the prayer that he would receive them into Thrace and Moesia, where they would submit themselves to him, besides furnishing auxiliaries. In accordance with the long-proved policy of the Empire, the petition was favorably considered; still, the number of Goths gave Valens serious thought, for the matter concerned not less than 200,000 men fit to bear arms. Before allowing them to cross, therefore, he, for security's sake, made certain stipulations, and, as a pledge of their good faith, made them deliver up as hostages the youths of their foremost families.

As the Goths were now in a state of complete disorganization and were held by only loose ties around Fritigern and Alaviv, there can be no doubt but that by dexterous management they might have been made of the greatest use to the Empire. But fate willed it otherwise. They were not distributed with sufficient promptitude, but were allowed to remain by the banks of the river, where there were not adequate means of subsistence for such masses. The imperial officials by their incapacity and rapaciousness made matters worse: they aggravated the hardships and took undue advantage of them, and so propagated a dangerous ferment of discontent. Just at this time, the Ostrogoths, who carried the boy king Widieric with them, crossed to the right bank, against the will of the emperor, and appeared on Roman soil. Fritigern formed a union with them, and designedly retarded the march of his own people till he arrived, after slow progress, before Marcianopolis. "Here was the spark to be kindled, that was to set on fire the whole Empire."

Lupicinus, the chief Roman magistrate, invited Fritigern and Alaviv to an entertainment in the city, while the mass of their countrymen were compelled to abide outside the walls. Hunger and ill-will soon brought them into collision with the townsmen and garrison. News of this was brought to Lupicinus in the midst of the revelry, and, inflamed with wine, he gave orders to cut down the followers of the two chiefs stationed at the entrance to the palace. Thereupon, the Goths began to

attack the walls, with the view of rescuing their imperilled princes. At this moment of extreme danger, Fritigern, with prompt presence of mind, asked to be permitted to depart with his companions in order to pacify and restrain his people. Lupicinus did not venture opposition; Fritigern left the city and was received with acclamations of joy by his tribesmen without the walls.

War was in effect declared, for the murder of Fritigern's followers called for revenge, while the privations undergone had made the Gothic swords rest loosely in their scabbards. Fritigern and his adherents sprang on horseback, and summoned their men to the fight. The battle-flags were unfurled, and the air resounded with the harsh music of the battle-horn. Predatory bands scoured the country, plundering, burning, and slaughtering all that came before them.

Lupicinus probably hoped to nip the mischief in the bud, by surprising the rovers in separate bands; so, collecting what troops he had, he marched forth from the city. But, with unexpected promptitude, the Goths concentrated themselves, and, ten miles from Marcianopolis, fell on the foe with irresistible fury, and, in wild butchery, all but annihilated the host. Only through the speed of his horse was the commander able to regain the city.

In this victory, the rising received its baptism of blood. Reinforcements streamed in from all sides. Fritigern was recognized as leader. Want of judgment and precipitancy on the part of the Romans increased his following. Amongst others, two Gothic princes with their tribesmen, who had been long received into the Empire and lay in winter-quarters near Adrianople, came to his support. Towards this important city Fritigern directed his march, but soon discovered that his motley bands were of little avail for a siege. Instead of wearing them out before the walls, he let them overflow the land. All Thrace fell, gradually, into his power. Every day he was joined by men of his nation, who had been serving as slaves or Coloni, by miners from the gold mines, by men in arrears for taxes, and the like, while new hordes flowed towards him from the North. To the terrified Romans it seemed as if Dacia were vomiting forth barbarians, as Etna throws forth ashes and lava, to desolate all the country around. Long-restrained fury and passions demanded frightful hecatombs. The great collective movement had found in Fritigern the man to head it.

The Empire exerted itself to the utmost. The Emperor Valens, occupied in Antioch with the Persians, despatched Armenian legions across the Bosphorus. At his request, Gratian sent Pannonian and Rhenish troops from the West, under command of two German generals. In

order not to be wedged in between the hosts advancing against them from the South and West, the Goths gave up their advanced position, and turned back over the Balkans to Northern Thrace (Moesia). All went in good order. The Goths lay in their circular wagon-forts, so long as the booty brought in sufficed them; then they would break up and move farther, increase their ranks, and send out foraging detachments in search of fresh provender. The troops of the Eastern Empire followed, and at a place named "By the Willows," they formed a junction with the Western legions.

This was precisely what Fritigern wished, inasmuch as it put it within his power to deliver what he hoped would be an annihilating stroke. Before the enemy could receive further reinforcements, he sent the signal around that recalled the predatory detachments to the main army.

When all was carefully prepared there rang out from the horns, in the gray of morning, the signal for battle. According to national usage, the Goths pledged mutual oaths to fight as true comrades, and then took possession of a commanding eminence in order to add weight to their charge, by making it down hill. The battle-song resounded on all sides; step by step the armies neared each other, spears and projectiles hurtled through the air; at length they stood face to face. The Romans, as heavy infantry, had joined shield to shield; opposed to them were the inferior-weaponed but much more agile Goths. The Roman left wavered before the crushing missile-clubs and well-wielded swords of their adversaries, and the line was restored only by the bringing forward of the reserves. With terrible ferocity the fight raged all day long, without decided issue, and only evening put an end to the bloody work. Wearied nigh to death, both parties withdrew, without special orders, to their camps. The loss was so great that neither party ventured to renew the fight. The Romans retired to the adjoining Marcianopolis; the Goths remained seven days in their wagon-fort. The struggle was then renewed, in which a large Gothic division was nearly caught in the passes of the Balkans. The Roman tactics seem to have been to occupy the northern slope of this range, and so to shut up the Goths in the exhausted northern division of Thrace, and deliver them over as victims to the rigors of winter.

Both sides saw that a decisive battle must be delivered. Both prepared for the conflict. Richomeres, who had commanded the legions at the Willows, betook himself to the Emperor Gratian, to acquaint him with the situation. Valens sent a new commander with reinforcements to the Balkans. The Goths were not less active. They won over bands of Huns and Alans, and so increased their army that the Romans

evacuated the Balkans. Like a mountain-torrent the barbarians now poured over the land, marking their path with fire and death. The capital itself, the glorious Constantinople, felt no longer secure. A Roman division was cut to pieces, and Frigerid, the leader of Gratian's Western army, fell, thereby, into such straits, that he retreated to Illyria. The Goths were masters of the Balkan Peninsula.

And already, in more distant regions their successes made themselves felt. As Gratian was preparing to bring help to his uncle in the East, and when the greatest part of his forces were on their way to Illyria, the Lentienses, a tribe of the Alamanni residing on the Lake of Constance, judged that the time was suitable for exploits in the old style. An Alamannian, who, as a life-guardsmen, had served about the person of the emperor, had told them how matters stood in the East. In February, 378, they crossed the Rhine on the ice. Their attack was premature, and was repelled. They then collected all their tribesmen of the canton, and pressed forward into Alsace with 40,000 men. Gratian recalled the troops he had dispatched, and uniting them with those left in Gaul, placed the whole under the circumspect Nannienus, and the dashing king of the Franks, Mellobaudes. Near Argentaria (Colmar?) the battle was delivered, which ended in the complete overthrow of the Alamanni. To deter them from further undertakings, Gratian invaded their country, without, however, penetrating far inland, for the foe adroitly availed himself of all natural impediments. Through tenacity and perseverance, however, Gratian extorted an advantageous treaty, which brought new recruits of the conquered people to his army. Great was the rejoicing. Men recognized the hand of Christ in the successes Rome had won, and yet these very successes proved fatal. Gratian, on their account, came to the East too late.

There, the Emperor Valens had concluded peace with the Persians and had led his Armenian troops to Constantinople, where great excitement prevailed on account of the imminent peril from the Goths. The Orthodox denounced their Arian ruler, while the Catholic emperor of the West was, in their eyes, crowned with glory by virtue of his victory over the Alamanni—a state of matters that strongly inclined Valens to deal with the Goths, himself, alone, and before the arrival of his nephew. The surprise of a Gothic horde and the capture of a great booty by his general, Sebastian, confirmed this resolution. The Goths were still scouring the country in predatory bands, and were not sufficiently concentrated around Fritigern, who had summoned them to assemble at Cabyle, while Valens stood at the head of a host, not indeed homogeneous, but brave and well-disciplined. Near Adrianople the two

armies approached each other. Scouts reported that the Goths were only 10,000 strong, and Valens advanced swiftly to meet them, a council of war having decided for immediate battle. While preparations were going on, an envoy from Fritigern entered the camp with the prayer that Thrace might be granted to his countrymen as an abiding-place, where they pledged themselves to remain in continual peace.

Valens rejected the petition. On August 9, 378, he set out early in the morning, and by mid-day came in sight of the round wagon-fort. The state treasures and imperial insignia he had left in the adjoining city of Adrianople. While the Goths were chanting their wild war-song, the Romans were ordering their host for the conflict. It was arrayed in a double line, the cavalry in the front, the infantry behind. The rapidity of the Roman advance had brought the enemy to bay ere his forces were sufficiently collected. The Ostrogoth and Alan auxiliaries were wanting—fine horsemen, who were especially needed to cope with the Roman cavalry. Hence, Fritigern was in doubt as to the issue of the fight, and, with ready invention, sought to postpone the decisive moment by renewed negotiations. He succeeded.

The heavy-armed legionaries stood, in the meantime, under the burning sun, suffering from hunger and thirst, and annoyed by the smoke of the artfully-fed Gothic camp-fires. At length an agreement was reached, and Richomeres was deputed to wait on Fritigern. While he was advancing toward the Gothic camp, some Roman divisions, becoming restless, rushed on the Goths, but were beaten back. Then, on a sudden, the Ostrogoth and Alan horsemen burst like a whirlwind from the defiles of the mountains and threw themselves instantly on their foe. The Romans, who had so long prepared their attack, seemed surprised and slowly retreated. By virtue of their good discipline, their leaders succeeded in bringing the retreating troops to a stand. The left wing of their cavalry even gained ground, but, pursuing their advantage too far, they were overpowered by numbers, and brought destruction also on the infantry. Ever more closely were the latter hemmed in, and, at last, so closely pressed together that the men had no longer room to ply their weapons, while clubs, lances and swords did their work mercilessly. Vain were the charges of the weary Romans. They were powerless to break through the iron rampart that environed them. The dead lay heaped high in piles, and over their bodies the bloody conflict raged. The sun sank; then the work was done, and the remnant of the Roman army rushed away in wild, desperate flight. The last reserves did their best to cover the fugitives, till the dark, moonless night received them into her sheltering bosom. It was not a defeat: it was an annihilation.

Thirty-seven high officers and two-thirds of the men were left on the field.

The emperor had carried himself bravely. Wounded and deserted by his guards, and unable to find shelter, he fell—no man knows where. Either he was pierced by an enemy's missile or he was burned along with the cottage in which he had sought refuge.

The battle of Adrianople was one of those mighty catastrophes that determine the fate of nations. The long struggle between Rome and the Germans was decided in favor of the latter. The Balkan Peninsula, at least, seemed to have fallen to them. The cohesion of the Empire seemed destroyed and its very existence imperilled, for the Northern forests still concealed innumerable swarms, which would now, probably, pour themselves down unchecked on the South.

Anxious terror shook the Empire and unchained the passions of the human breast. The heathens ascribed the defeat to the anger of the gods against the Christians; the Orthodox ascribed it to the wrath of the Divine Being against the Arians. Gratian, whose army was south of Plevna, returned home to Sirmium, whence he issued an edict recalling to their offices the Homoousian¹ Orthodox priests banished by Valens. This grew to be a turning-point in religion, and, thereby, in the history of the Empire, and, widening its scope, in that of Europe. The victory of the Arian Goths was turned into a triumph for Catholic Christianity.

At first, however, it seemed something very different. The barbarians, intoxicated with success, threw themselves on Adrianople, and probably would have succeeded in taking it, had not a seemingly providential thunder-storm struck them back with terror. The besieged gained time for elaborate defence, and, with heavy loss, repelled the attack.

Their ignorance of the art of siege had deprived the Goths of the full fruits of their victory. With true instinct, they gave up Adrianople, and marched direct to the capital, Constantinople. In their first wild onset it seemed as if they would burst open the gates; but their hopes sank when they contemplated the extent of the walls and the sea of houses. They withdrew to disperse themselves, as formerly, in separate swarms, thus flooding the whole land, far and wide, even to the Venetian Alps. New hordes came over the Danube; Italy, too, had to fear for its security; yet months passed, and Gratian ventured on no serious undertaking with his intimidated troops.

¹The Orthodox Church believed in the sameness of essence or substance (*homoousia*), the Arians and other heterodox Christians, in the likeness of essence (*homoiousia*), of the Father and the Son. (See Chapter XIX.)—ED.

In noble self-denial, on January 19, 379, he elevated to the co-emperorship of the East, Theodosius of Spain (Fig. 85), his own personal enemy, but a man who commanded universal confidence. To him it was allotted to stem the German advance. He effected this as much by thoughtful consideration for the wants of the Goths as by concentration of the power of the Roman state. The want of cohesion among the Goths themselves came also to his aid. Many of them—even men of royal blood—were willing to follow the eagles. Negotiations and conflicts seem to have alternated. The Ostrogoths once more separated from the Visigoths. The latter settled in Epirus and Thessaly, the former in Pannonia; and these settlements were recognized by Gratian. About 380, Fritigern died; and Athanaric, in 381.

The land gradually became more tranquil till, on October 3, 382, the glad tidings were announced that peace had been established with the whole Gothic race. The greater part received settlements as “confederates” in Thrace: that is, they retained their tribal laws and rights as well as the right of self-government, while they acknowledged the emperor as their over-lord, and furnished recruits to the legions. Some sections were planted in Asia Minor. A contemporary says: “The Goths have turned their swords into ploughshares.” It was, indeed, in good time. The lands of the Balkans had become depopulated, and brush and forest now waved over fields that formerly smiled with harvests. After their settlement, the Goths crowded all professions and occupations: in their furry raiment, they were seen at the head of the armies; in the toga, as consuls; in the kitchens, as servants; in short, everywhere. The East became more and more “barbarized;” the army-rolls show the names of Franks, Goths, and Vandals, who occupied permanent positions in Syria and Egypt. A fiscal official complained that Theodosius had impoverished the East in favor of foreign soldiers.

But while the Germans thus powerfully affected the Roman Empire, the influence was reciprocal. The national life of the Visigoths was exposed to greater danger than it had been through the assaults of the Huns. They lacked, above all, a unifying, universally recognized common head; and the controversies and antagonisms that were honeycombing the Empire forced themselves with a disintegrating effect amongst them. The majority of the Goths were Arians, while Orthodox Athanasians sat at the helm of the Empire. Instinctively the party of the minority looked on these statesmen as natural allies. The people fell into two groups—the one, under the leadership of the heathen, Fravitta, defended the existing order of affairs; the other, under Eriulf, doubtless an Arian, aimed at getting possession of the government, probably of the imperial power.

Political rivalry was embittered by religious hate. At the public table of Theodosius matters came to an issue. Wine had heated their brains, and the two party leaders, with their followers, fell into angry strife. They rushed, with wild clamor, from the hall, and outside engaged in a hand-to-hand fight, in which Fravitta slew Eriulf.

Who was now to be the leader of the Visigoths? It could not be the heathen Fravitta, married to a Roman wife: the majority were opposed to him. The people were still Gothic at heart, and used their native speech, customs, and laws; still they repeated their sagas, and sung their old heroic lays. If all this were to remain, if the Goths were to be preserved as a people for a great future, then a man must appear, Roman enough to cope with or transcend the Romans in their own arts, German enough to regard the old German national life as sacred. Such a man they found in Alaric the Balt.



FIG. 85.—Theodosius the Great. Portrait upon a gold coin. Inscribed: D. N. THEODOSIVS P. F. AVG. (Imhoof-Blumer.)

In the meantime, the great mass of their Ostrogothic brethren had continued to live in good understanding under Hunnish over-lordship, but immediately subject to kings of their own, Hunimund being the first. The nationless life of the Germans easily accommodated itself to new conditions, as well to the higher culture of Rome, as to the nomadic semi-savage life of the sons of the steppes, with only this difference: that, in the latter case, their own influence, as that of the more developed people, tended to become the stronger. Mixed marriages become more frequent; the princes of the Huns assumed Gothic names; in short, the Huns began to Gothicize themselves. While engaged in subduing the Sarmatian and Slavic races of Middle Europe, they came little in contact with the Romans, and for this reason for several decades they almost disappear from history. It was much the same with the Ostrogoths. It appears that Hunimund had to maintain his supremacy against the assaults of other chiefs, and that various branches separated themselves from the main stem. Such a branch it was that, in the summer of 386, appeared on the Danube under the leadership of Odotheus. As they were crossing the stream in boats and rafts, on a moonless night, they were suddenly surprised by the Roman fleet and practically annihilated. So great was the danger supposed to be, that Theodosius had set out for Thrace in person. He found the work accomplished. The captives were partly enrolled in the legions, partly settled as tillers of the land.

If we turn to the West, we find there the Frank Merobaudes occupying a predominant position at the court of Gratian, and Germans everywhere

in favor. By this, the Roman feeling of the provincials, and the pride of the legions, were offended. In remote Britain, the soldiery rose and saluted their general, Magnus Maximus, as emperor. When he came to Gaul, the Rhine legions joined him, and further desertions followed. Gratian was assassinated at Lyons, August, 383, and Merobaudes put an end to his own life, when he saw the house in which he had taken refuge surrounded. The Roman reaction seemed, with this, to have gained the victory. Maximus, its leader, took up his residence at Treves, without, however, being in a position himself to dispense with the Germans. Theodosius recognized him as emperor of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, while Italy and Africa were to remain to Valentinian, the youthful brother of Gratian. But in the autumn of 387, Maximus pressed south, without much opposition. Valentinian had to flee to Thessalonica, and thence craved aid from Theodosius.

A war now began, peculiar of its kind, and recalling that of Magnentius against Constantius, only that now the parts were reversed. The emperor of the West relied mainly on the Roman element, while Theodosius had the Germans on his side. The confederate Goths alone furnished him 40,000 men. Lightly moved and occasionally discontented, the Germans were fit tools for the wily Maximus, who entered into negotiations with some of them in the service of the Eastern Empire, and, by great promises, won them over to a conspiracy. This was discovered just in time.

An irruption of the Franks into Gaul may serve as a counterpart to this, as well as a notable evidence of changed relations. For decades the Franks had supported the Empire. They now harried the left bank of the Rhine and threatened Cologne. One division of them was cut to pieces. On the other hand, an advance of the Romans across the stream was yet more unfortunate. The army fell into an ambuscade and was destroyed.

All this occurred while Maximus was in the field against Theodosius. The former's star quickly sank. Vanquished in two battles, his troops—especially the German element—passed over to the enemy. In 388, he was captured and slain. The Frank, Arbogast, seized the young son of the usurper left behind him in Gaul, had him strangled, and undertook the administration of the state in the interest of the young Valentinian II. He was followed successively by Stilicho, Ricimer, Odoacer, and Theodoric—pure Germans. It was now too late for a great Roman reaction.

Arbogast restored the friendly relations with his countrymen on the right bank of the Rhine. This was not hard, inasmuch as there now set in an era of German, and especially of Frankish, ascendancy such as had

never been witnessed before. The administration, military and civil, lay in the hands of Arbogast, who surrounded himself with "Frankish satellites," on whom he could rely. No official dared to give heed to the orders of the emperor without the sanction of the despotic Frank. Valentinian sought to escape from under the pressure of his heavy hand, and craved support from the Romans. These were mostly Catholics, while Arbogast seems to have adhered to the old cult of the pagan divinities. Personal, national, and religious antagonisms thus conspired to bring the nominal ruler and the real head of the state into collision. Valentinian was now ripening into manhood, and his lot became ever the more intolerable, till at length, while holding a ceremonial assembly, he took a decisive step: he placed a formal notice of dismissal in the hands of his powerful minister. The latter scanned it contemptuously, then tearing the document to pieces, threw the shreds at the emperor's feet, with the words: "You did not give me my office, and you shall not take it from me." He strode from the hall, his hand on his sword. Perhaps it was on this occasion that Valentinian seized a weapon from a life-guardsmen, in order to slay Arbogast. It was not long ere the emperor was found hanging dead from a tree, where he had been suspended by the Frank's myrmidons. It was given out that he had committed suicide. Gratian met his doom because he favored the Germans; Valentinian, because he withstood them.

Arbogast ostentatiously wore the official mourning for the dead, and no man dared to lift a hand against him. At his nod the army raised his client the orator Eugenius to the purple—a man of irreproachable character, who gave guarantee that he would do nothing of his own will. Theodosius withheld his assent, and the issue was left once more to the sword.

Both East and West armed on a great scale. In both, the preponderance of power lay with the Germans. To secure themselves on the rear, and to strengthen their army by strong German contributions, Arbogast and Eugenius undertook, in the winter of 392–393, a campaign beyond the Rhine, first against the Franks, then against the Alamanni. According to wont, treaties of peace followed, the issue desired by the emperors.

Enormous columns now moved toward each other. Franks and Alamanni followed the emperor of the West; Alans, Huns, and 20,000 Goths, under Alaric, accompanied Theodosius. On September 5, 394, they met on the banks of the Frigidus, not far from Aquileia (Aglar), at the head of the Adriatic. Theodosius opened the attack with his barbarian allies, but like a thunderstorm Arbogast rushed on with his countrymen, and threw the opposing masses into utter confusion. Ten

thousand of the Goths alone are said to have been slain. When the fight was renewed next day, matters looked gloomy for Theodosius. Only the treachery of an auxiliary corps, and a strong wind that blew in the faces of Eugenius's troops, gained for Theodosius the victory. Eugenius was captured and beheaded. Arbogast escaped only to wander for two days among the mountains, when, hard pursued, he ended his own life. The Christians ascribed the unlooked-for issue to divine interposition.

Exertion and exposure planted the seeds of death in the frame of the conqueror. He sickened of dropsy, and died at Milan, January 17, 395, in the fiftieth year of his age. Theodosius and the men associated with him, who came from all parts of the world, exerted a decisive influence upon their age. Beside him—the thoughtful, far-seeing, and energetic head—we see the Frank, Richomeres, a devoted worshipper of the gods, and a worthy military leader, honored by the emperor with a consulate; the soldierly Roman, Timasius; the cultured, amiable Promotus; Tatian, the architect, and his son, Proclus. Before and above all we see the Gaul, Rufinus, and the Vandal, Stilicho.

Rufinus had keen, lively eyes and a fine exterior; but he was wily, avaricious, ambitious, and cruel. An excellent judge of men, he had raised himself to the highest offices of state, and acquired predominating influence over Theodosius. Stilicho was a man of entirely different stamp. Born about 360, he attracted notice even in his youth by his firm, self-reliant deportment, and his stately figure. The emperor gave him an appointment as an officer, and, with true prescience of his future greatness, bestowed upon him as his wife his niece and adopted daughter, the generous, virtuous Serena. From 385 he filled most efficiently the office of general. In 392, the Bastarnæ of the right bank of the Danube had fallen on and defeated Promotus, it is said, at the instigation of Rufinus. Stilicho appeared as an avenger, overthrew the insurgents and surrounded them in a valley of the Danube. Then the Huns, Alans, Goths, and others, arose to set free the encompassed Bastarnæ. Stilicho faced them all and beat them back. Of the advantages of his victory he was despoiled by the crafty, intriguing Rufinus. The antagonism between them waxed to hatred, which had disastrous results.

CHAPTER XII.

FROM STILICHO TO THE FOUNDING OF THE KINGDOM OF THE VISIGOTHS IN GAUL.

(A. D. 395-415.)

BEFORE his death, Theodosius had arranged the succession to the throne so that Arcadius, the elder of his two sons, should succeed to the Empire of the East, while Honorius should receive the West. St. Ambrose, in the emperor's funeral oration, says, "No one need have scruples on account of the tender years of the boys; the loyalty of the troops makes them of full age." The state inclined ever more towards the form of a hereditary monarchy; a final partition was not expected from Theodosius. The trustworthy Stilicho he named as commander-in-chief of the still united armies, and guardian of his sons—a position fraught with danger, for he was in effect appointed common administrator of the Empire for two emperors, who were still minors. While Honorius



FIG. 86. — Honorius.
Portrait upon one
of his gold coins.
(Imhoof-Blumer.)

(Fig. 86) and Stilicho abode in Milan, Arcadius remained in Constantinople, having beside him Rufinus, to whom had been entrusted the conduct of business for the East. Everywhere the latter found people loth to acknowledge his authority, and the difficulty of his position was enhanced by the old rivalry with Stilicho. East and West stood, as it were, with their backs to each other. According to tradition and the age of its ruler, Constantinople was the political centre of the Empire; the military preponderance, on the other hand, lay with the West.

Strengthened by his position as commander-in-chief of the army, Stilicho ruled the West for thirteen years, and upheld the ascendancy of Rome over the barbarians. His efforts were directed towards two objects—first, he desired to maintain both Empires entire and united, under two emperors; next, he aimed at sustaining and reviving the waning vitality of the state by the infusion of lusty German blood, and by blending Romans and Germans, as much as possible, into one people. His ruin resulted from this two-fold, self-imposed mission. The pride of Rome was wounded; the Germans within the Empire, from being dutiful subjects, became transformed into self-willed enemies.

Stilicho labored unweariedly. He brought order into the imperial

finances and administration; cared for the reparation of ruined roads and cities, and for the maintenance of their edifices; checked the violence of the soldiers, the encroachments of judges, and the abuse of official power. Although he declared the orthodox creed to be the state religion, perfect toleration was granted to all, and neither heathen nor heretic was debarred from office. To the city of Rome he assigned an honorable precedence, and restored, in some measure, its importance; repeatedly he submitted weighty questions of state to the Senate. He forbade, on pain of severe penalty, anyone to appear in the streets of "the Venerable City" in German costume. In Rome, at least, citizens were to feel themselves Romans. All these and similar measures he carried out in the midst of incessant war, and while he felt his position ever more insecure by reason of the advancing age of his imperial master.

After subduing dangerous tendencies within the bosom of the army, he marched to the Rhine and imposed peace upon the again restless Germans of the frontier. Thence he returned to Milan, to set out forthwith for the East, where a breach had taken place between the imperial authorities and the Visigoths.

Among this people the man of most authority was Alaric of the stock of the Balt ("the bold"). Born in 370, on Peuce, an island of the Danube, he took arms first against Theodosius, and afterwards led, as an imperial officer, the Gothic contingent in the war against Eugenius. Later, he demanded a higher command. At the instigation of Rufinus this was denied him by Arcadius, while, at the same time, the subsidy to the confederate Goths was withheld. The people became discontented, weary of spending their strength for Rome without any security for their own future. They and the Balt understood each other. A section of his people raised him to the leadership, or directly to the kingship. Thus the Gothic nation had once more a common rallying point, its scattered elements could anew acquire coherence, round the person of their sovereign.

The popular instinct was right—Alaric was the man demanded by the times. Unshaken in good or bad fortune, persevering, moderate, clear-sighted and warlike, he appears to have ever kept before him as his ultimate end the acquisition of a secure home for his people, such as they had enjoyed beyond the Danube.

The rising meant war. Unfortunately we have no satisfactory report of the details. With his bands, Alaric seems to have terrified Constantinople, and thereafter to have traversed Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly. Desolation marked his path. Other German swarms, too, raised their heads. The Eastern Empire was powerless to control the movement.

At this juncture, Stilicho appeared in the spring of 395, and forced Alaric back into Thessaly. As he stood prepared for a decisive battle, he received an order from Arcadius commanding him to turn instantly back, and to send the Eastern troops to Constantinople. Stilicho obeyed, and dispatched mainly the German-Gothic contingents under Gainas. Arrived before the capital and received with festive ceremony, they struck down Rufinus by the side of the emperor. This was Stilicho's answer to the order.

No one gained more by this occurrence than Alaric. He advanced on Greece, nearly making conquest of it. Threatened likewise in Asia Minor and on the Danube, Arcadius called on Stilicho for help. Embarking at Brundisium, he landed at Corinth, and hemmed in Alaric on the river Alpheus in an exceedingly confined position. Suddenly the environing ring opened, and the Gothic host marched north to Epirus. The motives inducing Stilicho to this act are not clear. Epirus and a part of Illyria were ceded to the Goths, and Alaric received the title of Duke of these lands.

The object of the rising was temporarily attained. The Goths had again a home, though under Roman supremacy. Alaric collected taxes and retrained his people, plainly with a view to fresh undertakings; for in these lands, wedged in between East and West Rome, and a political shuttlecock for both, the Goths could make no permanent abiding-place.

Meanwhile, there was confusion in the East. The Gothic commander, Gainas, secured control of affairs in Constantinople, but proved unequal to the emergency. A bloody revolt broke forth against his Germans, in which more than 7000 of them fell. When Gainas thereupon began war, the Empire found a support in the earlier-mentioned Fravitta. Gainas was driven across the Danube, where he fell in battle against the Huns. Swarms of Slavs had joined the movement; the land was terribly afflicted, the state authority shattered; and hence Stilicho's aim of getting control of both halves of the Empire, so that they might mutually support each other, seemed nearer of realization than ever. This, however, would threaten the independence of the Goths.

Such, and other, considerations, combined with the wish for a better-secured territory, seem to have induced Alaric again to take up arms. Disturbances in the old German lands favored his plans. In Pannonia, the Ostrogoths had become restless, and, in 400, in union with Alans, Vandals, and Suevi, they pressed forward into Rhaetia, under the leadership of the Ostrogoth Radagais. While this commotion distracted the attention of Stilicho, Alaric marched toward Italy in the winter of 401.

On the Timavus (Timavo) he overcame the first resistance of Roman

troops, and then, in vain, laid seige to Aquileia. He thereupon advanced into Venetia and Lombardy, laying waste all before him, while the panic-stricken cities for the most part surrendered.

Stilicho remained steadfast. From all sides he summoned troops, at the same time pacifying the barbarians of Rhaetia. Their alliance with Alaric was prevented, and the Roman army was reinforced by a Rhaetian contingent.

In the meantime, matters became more urgent south of the Alps. Alaric crossed the Adda and attempted to shut up Honorius in Milan. From the walls were seen the wide circuit of the Gothic camp-fires, and only the expectation of relief induced the rejection of Alaric's proposals for peace. Stilicho hurried with a small force, in advance of his main army, over the Alps. In the night he forced the passage of the Adda, and pushed forward through the lines of the enemy into the threatened city. Alaric desisted from further operations against Milan, and, closely followed by Stilicho, marched toward Liguria. On Easter-day, April 6, 402, a battle took place near Pollentia (Polenza). Stilicho gained a partial victory, and the camp of the Goths, with their booty, women, and children, fell into his hands. A truce followed, on the condition that Alaric should evacuate Italy. He marched eastward, watched by Stilicho, who again triumphed over him near Verona. The Goths were now in sore straits. On all sides they saw superior forces. Alaric was on the point of suicide, when, as once before, he was, for unknown reasons, permitted to retire unmolested. Taught by experience, he turned back to Illyria. Italy was delivered.

Still the thunder-clouds hung threateningly in the North, which Stilicho only with care and labor had kept temporarily from breaking. He did his utmost to be armed against them ; he kept his forces together, disciplined them, and reinforced them with Hun and Visigoth auxiliaries. It was high time, for, in 404, vast swarms under Radagais burst from the Middle Danube, by way of Laibach, into Italy, and, in the spring of 405, laid siege to Florence. Radagais was a heathen, and his coming awakened everywhere the worship of the old gods. The whole Christian world trembled at the prospect of a heathen reaction. Stilicho felt that he was too weak to cope with the collective force of the barbarians ; but, to his joy, they split up into three bands. One was overpowered ; another, under Radagais, was compelled to raise the siege, and was driven to the heights of Fiesole, where it succumbed to the combined force of hunger and the sword. The survivors were embodied in the legions or sold as slaves. Radagais himself fell in the flight.

Sounds of rejoicing filled all the land. For the second time the Empire

was rescued. Stilicho stood on the pinnacle of success. Now the old union with the Eastern Empire could be renewed. All was thwarted by new movements of the northern tribes. From their Pannonian homes there streamed forth toward the West large bodies of Vandals strengthened by crowds of Alans, and on their route were reinforced by Suevi, Marcomanni and Burgundians. At the new-year of 407, they passed the Rhine. No Roman troops were at hand, for Stilicho had recalled them for the protection of Italy. In their place there appeared the treaty-bound Franks, strengthened, likewise, by masses of Alans. It came to a murderous fight. Already had the Vandal king, Godegisel, with 20,000 of his people fallen; already were the Franks and Alans pressing forward with shouts of triumph, when the section of the Alans that was allied with the Vandals appeared, and by a crushing charge threw their antagonists into the direst confusion. The fight, most peculiar in its kind, was lost for Rome. For the first time had independent Germans, under their own commanders, entered the field against Germans in defence of Rome. Hitherto had the Frankish lances been levelled against the West; this time they were pointed towards the East.

Exultingly the conquerors stormed forward, wasting the Gallic land, far and wide, even to Aquitania, for three long years. The woe was unutterable, for, in addition to the Germans, men soon saw the desperate *celand* breaking forth from the mountains. The Rhine-Germans turned the confusion to their own account, and settled, more and more, on the left bank. The garrisons of the fortresses were insufficient, the burghers despondent; and, that nought might be wanting, an anti-emperor, named Constantine, came from Britain, and made himself master of the province that was bleeding from every pore.

Heavy was the burden now laid on Stilicho, and this at a time when he was losing ground, and when the Roman party were employing every means to rid themselves of him and the barbarians. He felt that if he left Italy, to go to the rescue of Gaul, his enemies at the court would gain the upper hand and utterly ruin him. He remained, therefore, and, in 407, sent the Visigoth, Sarus, with an army over the Alps. Sarus fought at first with success, but had soon to leave the field before superior forces and ever-growing dangers. Stilicho found himself in desperate circumstances. His ally Alarie, who, as "Master of the Forces," had entered the Roman service, ostensibly rather than really, was in Epirus, apparently ready to march with him against East Rome, but quite as ready to fight for his own interests. Weary of long waiting, the leader of the Goths, in the beginning of 408, entered a strong camp in Pannonia, and took possession of Noricum—all the time, as it seems, being in partial alliance

with Stilicho, who managed to get for him a subsidy of 4000 pounds. Then followed a circumstance which might have cleared up their relations. On May 1, 408, Arcadius died, leaving behind him the young Theodosius. Stilicho seems to have immediately sketched out a plan, at once bold and ingenious: he decided to despatch Alaric to the West to subdue the anti-emperor, while he himself proceeded to the East. It was already too late. The Roman party had gained the ascendancy, and succeeded in winning over the undecided Honorius, by impressing on him that Stilicho was pursuing selfish schemes. In the imperial camp at Ticinum, there arose an uproar against the commanders—adherents of Stilicho. His view, at first, was to bring the insurgents to reason with the aid of his German-Hunnish followers, but he felt that this might compromise him with the emperor. He went, therefore, to Ravenna, the capital at that time, with the view, probably, of first of all re-establishing his influence there. An imperial order for his arrest followed. Stilicho took refuge in a church, but was tempted out and put to death, after he had restrained his followers from forcible resistance. His adherents and family were ruthlessly persecuted; his property seized; himself declared an enemy of the state and his memory exprobated.

With short-sighted infatuation, the men now in power pursued their mad career. Honorius ordered the confiscation of the possessions of all officials appointed by Stilicho. The legionaries fell on the confederate auxiliaries and murdered their wives and children. The mercenaries began to mutiny. Thirty thousand of them left the eagles, and, after laying waste the country, joined Alaric.

Alaric would willingly have remained at peace, and he presented very moderate claims for money and land. These denied, he set out for Italy. Army and state were paralyzed. Nowhere did he meet with opposition, as he crossed the Po, marched to Rimini, and thence along the Adriatic, to Rome. Here party-madness rioted unchecked. The people were in an agony of terror; and, instead of attempting defence, bought off the besiegers with 5000 pounds of gold, 30,000 pounds of silver, and costly objects of luxury. To collect the sum, silver and gold images of the gods were melted, among them the statue of "Valor." Alaric, reinforced daily by escaped slaves, betook himself to winter-quarters in Etruria. What he sought was a dwelling-place for his homeless host, and with this end in view he began again to negotiate with Honorius, asking first that his people might occupy Dalmatia, Venetia, and Noricum, as Roman confederates, but finally limiting his demand to the half-lost Noricum. In vain. The anti-German policy still dominated behind the secure walls

of Ravenna, and the unfortunate Empire must pay the penalty. Again Rome saw the Gothic hordes before its gates.

In the belief that he and his people would be less profited by victories and rapine than by the acquisition of land for his people, Alaric aimed less at the capture of the city than at the accomplishment of a political revolution that would enable him to attain his object. He compelled, therefore, the Senate again to recognize old claims to the throne, and to elevate the civic prefect, Attalus, as anti-emperor. Attalus made Alaric master of the forces for the Empire, and Athaulf (Atawulf, Adolphus), his brother-in-law, who had lately brought reinforcements from the Danube, prefect of cavalry. But it was soon seen that the interests of Rome and Germany were at variance. Dissensions arose, the siege of Ravenna miscarried; Alaric recognized that through Attalus his aim was not to be attained. He divested his creature, therefore, of the imperial dignity, and renewed negotiations with Honorius. Terms would probably have been arrived at had not the Gothic chief, Sarus, entered the service of the emperor and gained influence. This rendered it important for Alaric to have Rome once more within his power. He occupied it, and, as it seems, without a siege, August 24, 410. The usage of the times and the exasperation of the Goths, on account of their fruitless wanderings, made it impossible to spare the city. The conquerors stormed through the streets, seizing whatever struck their fancy. They gave themselves up to lust and rapacity, while the animosity of Arians and heathens against the Orthodox could satiate itself in drunken fury. Yet strong orders were given that churches and consecrated objects should be spared, and the sack of the fallen mistress of the world was limited to three days. Alaric then gathered together his bands, and set out for South Italy, traversing it till he reached the coast. He projected yet wider schemes in Sicily and Africa, but his earthly pilgrimage was at an end. He succumbed to the enervating climate of the South, and was laid to rest in the bed of the stream, Busento, near Cosenza. Probably his followers feared that any other grave would be disturbed by Italian hate. For fifteen years Alaric had led the main force of the Visigoths and had held them together. They made his brother-in-law, Athaulf, his successor, and so secured their own future.

Athaulf was of stately though not lofty figure; of fine features, high spirit, self-reliant and enterprising; he was persuaded that more was to be won by amicable accommodation than by successful battles. It is said of him that his purpose was to make out of the Roman Empire a Gothic one, with himself as Romano-German emperor. As the time for this had not yet come, he was brought back to Alaric's

standpoint, with, however, greater subordination to the will of Rome. He gave up the position in South Italy, and, moving slowly, came finally to North Italy, without any conflict of consequence, but with frequent negotiations with Honorius (Fig. 87). After thus spending two years he



FIG. 87.—The Emperor Honorius. Relief upon an ivory diptych presented by the Consul Arcius Probus. Height, 11½ in. In the Cathedral of Aosta. (Rev. Archéol., 1862.)

entered Gaul. Here a second usurper had arrayed himself against the former one (Constantine), and he, holding the Pyrenees, had allied himself with the forward-pressing bands of Vandals, Alans, and Suevi, to whom he opened the passes and gave free admission to Spain. In 409, they appeared in this flourishing province, which up to this time had been comparatively spared. Now ruin stalked through it with devastating foot, till the turbulent masses, after two years of violence, came gradually to rest. To avoid strife, the three peoples are said to have left the determination of the districts they should respectively occupy to lot. The Suevi got Galicia, and the Alans, Lusitania. The Vandals fell into two groups—the Asdingi and Silingi—the former of which united themselves with the Suevi, while the latter seized Baetica and Andalusia (Vandalusia).

Arrangements were made with the natives, according to which the cities fell mainly to their share, while the rural districts fell mainly to

the Germans. The relation of the latter to the emperor seems to have been that common to "federates." Soon the sword was laid aside for the plough. Conquerors and conquered became gradually reconciled, and began to reap the blessings of peace.

In the meantime, the struggle between the usurpers continued, till both fell before Constantius, commander-in-chief for Honorius. But a third anti-emperor had appeared in Jovinus, who, supported by Gundahar, king of the Burgundians, and Goar, king of the Alamanni, had selected Mayence as his capital. During these disorders, the Trans-Rhenish bar-

barians had moved about at their pleasure. Even the Burgundians occupied, as intruders, the left Rhine bank in the district of Worms; while a portion of their nation, hitherto settled on the Main, had joined the movement of Suevi and Vandals, and, in 407, burst into Gaul.

In 412, Athaulf, with his Goths, appeared in Gaul, probably with the silent assent of Honorius. He seemed at first to play a waiting game, and began to negotiate with Jovinus. The fact, however, that Sarus—Alarie's ancient rival and foe—took the usurper's side, fixed Athaulf's resolution: he at once went over to Honorius. After a fierce struggle, he got Sarus into his power, and slew him cruelly. Jovinus was unable to withstand the combined assaults of Goths and imperialists. His head fell under the axe, and was sent to Ravenna.



FIG. 88.—Galla Placidia and her son Valentinian III. Relief upon an ivory diptych at Monza. (Planché.)

But the new allies fell out. The conditions of their compact pleased neither. Athaulf took the field against the emperor, and endeavored to establish himself, by force, in Southern Gaul, probably in the secret hope of compelling Honorius later to acknowledge his conquests. But a yet more interesting subject of negotiations was the emperor's own sister—the noble and beautiful Placidia (Fig. 88)—whom the Goths had captured at the second occupation of Rome, and whom they carried about with them as a hostage. Honorius had insisted on her restitution. Athaulf refused to give up the precious pledge, and at length Placidia decided the matter by giving

her hand to the barbarian king. Her hope was that she would thus contribute to blend the two nations into one. The memorable marriage was celebrated, in 414, at Narbonne. The bride sat on a throne, clad in richest attire, having her German bridegroom by her side in Roman costume. Attalus, lately emperor, as leader of the bridal choir, began the nuptial song. Goths and Romans together celebrated a common festival. For the former this was, as it were, a union on equal terms with the rulers of the world. Their king was no longer a foreign conqueror; a legal ground for his supremacy over the subdued provincials had now been established. Honorius, however, saw in the marriage only the dishonor of his house, and determinedly repulsed all advances towards reconciliation.

Appeal was again made to the sword. Athaulf elevated Attalus a second time as anti-emperor, but was driven over the Pyrenees into unexhausted Spain by Constantius, master of the forces, who, by his command of the sea, controlled the import of foreign grain. Here Athaulf seized the important city of Barcelona, where his wife bore him a son, who, after his grandfather, was named Theodosius. The future of the Goths and of his house seemed at length secured. It was only the beginning of the end. The boy died; Athaulf, himself, was murdered by an adherent of Sarus. He breathed his last in August, 415, after tarrying barely half a year in his land of promise. Dying, he commended Placidia to his brother, in whom he saw his successor, charging him to send her back to Honorius, and to cultivate closer relations with Rome.

A reaction in the popular Gothic sentiment—which, at first, had not been altogether out of sympathy with the murder—followed quickly upon it. Not Athaulf's brother, but Sigeric, the brother of his deadly enemy, Sarus, succeeded to the chief power. It was one of the most perilous moments in the history of the Gothic nation. Sigeric was really but the head of a party, while the Goths, in the absence of all constitutional organization, were held together as a people only by two distinct influences—loyalty to the king, and general community of feeling. The common feeling prevailed. In vain did Sigeric struggle to maintain himself by violence and cruelty. Within seven days he shared the fate of Athaulf, and an old chief and prince, Wallia, was elevated to the kingly power, with the mission, it is said, of making war on Rome. The anti-Roman feeling was still in the ascendant.

Wallia extended Athaulf's conquests even to the straits of Gibraltar. There he endeavored to cross to Africa in order to become master of what was then the granary of the world. His attempt miscarried. Storms shattered his ships. Negotiations were resumed with Honorius, who

had no personal antipathy to Wallia, such as he had entertained against his own brother-in-law, Athaulf. The result was that Rome resumed payment of the wonted grain subsidy, in consideration of which Placidia was given up to him. Without her consent she was married to Constantius, and by him became the mother of Valentinian III.

The principal obstacles in the way of a friendly understanding were now removed. The Goths became allies subordinate to the emperor, and took the field, as imperial auxiliaries, against the Alans, Suevi, and Vandals, in Spain, on condition of their receiving settlements in that country. For two years the struggle was conducted with such bitterness that the very Romans were amazed at the fury with which German strove against German. The tribe of the Silingi was destroyed; the Alans were stricken to the marrow; and the Suevi and Vandals driven into the inaccessible mountains of Galicia. The emperor celebrated the victories of the Goths by a splendid triumph. Almost all Spain was won back for him, and he, seeing how useful the Goths could be made if properly treated, fulfilled his part of the stipulations. They received settlements, not in remote Spain, where they might easily become independent, but in the fertile district of the Garonne, in the southwest of Gaul. In 419, the Goths recrossed the Pyrenees. Toulouse became their capital. After endless wanderings, and infinite vicissitudes of fortune, bloody victories and as bloody defeats, they had at length secured the recompense of their cares and of the tenacity with which they had held themselves together as a people and had kept their main aim—a home—steadily in view. Here it was now laid upon them to found a distinct empire, and that they did.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FOUNDING OF GERMAN STATES WITHIN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

(A. D. 413-450.)

ON August 15, 423, Honorius died, and Johannes, a court-secretary, came to the throne, to succumb after a brief interval to the East-Roman emperor, Theodosius II. The young Valentinian III. (Fig. 88) was named by him emperor of the West, under the guardianship of his mother, Placidia, the widow of Athaulf and Constantius (Fig. 89). The hereditary order of succession to the throne and the predominating influence of Constantinople were thus affirmed. During the minority, two men, who strove against each other with implacable hatred, forced themselves into especial prominence—Aëtius, a statesman, who sought to guide the policy of the Empire, and Boniface, a courtier, specially intent on confirming the rights of the dynasty. Aëtius ruled in Gaul, and, in some measure, in Italy; Boniface, in Africa. The rivalry of these men—each individually qualified to aid in sustaining the sinking state—operated to destroy the poor remains of its strength, and to furnish the Germans with opportunities for gaining their aim.

Already—before the Goths—Burgundians had succeeded in obtaining fixed settlements within the Empire. Involved in the fall of Jovinus, they lost ground, yet by 413 they had acquired by treaty a section of Gaul on the Middle Rhine. The name of their king, Gundahar or Guntiar (Günther), renowned in legend, evidences that this was essentially the same people that had supported Jovinus. They were received in the usual “federate” conditions, with the emperor as their over-lord. Here there might be, in all, some 300,000 souls, while the rest of the nation remained on the Main and in the Odenwald. Their settlement on the Rhine led to their conversion to Catholic Christianity, which faith they received from the Romans living with them.

The Burgundians seem to have lived in peace for more than twenty years. They then revolted, and strove to extend their possessions—an effort that brought them to the brink of destruction, for, in 435, they were bloodily defeated by Aëtius, and, in 437, they were again overthrown by the Huns in his service. King Gundahar fell in fight, and probably also his brothers. His family remained at the head of the

enfeebled people, to whom, in 443, Sabaudia (modern Savoy and part of France) was conceded. Other German peoples came then into possession



FIG. 89. Chapel of the Empress Placidia at Ravenna, with her tomb. (From a photograph.)

of their deserted seats. In their new settlements they received the half of the forest and arable land, so that every freeman was provided with his own individual parcel. In this way—mixed with Romans in a land

of Roman culture, and delivered from their monotonously uniform national life—they founded the new kingdom of Burgundy. Their East-Rhenish tribesmen probably gradually incorporated themselves with them, especially after the advances of the Huns had set them in motion.

The nearest neighbors of the Burgundians—the Alamanni—retained, in the main, their seats east of the Upper Rhine, and along the Middle Neckar. When, however, the stream of Vandals and Alans poured through their northern cantons, they were pushed farther toward the South and West, so that nearly all the country between the Alps, the Jura, and the Vosges became Alamannian. Alamanni, indeed, had settled even southwest of the Vosges, and in the Rhineland tolerably far toward the north, but they gradually retreated so as to come within the bounds to which they have confined themselves to the present day—with the Vosges on the west, the Lech on the east, and the Alps on the south.

The Franks have a stronger claim on our attention than the Alamanni in this period. The various branches of this tribe are found, from about the middle of the Fourth Century, grouped under the titles of the Ripuarian Franks and Salic Franks, terms which have never been satisfactorily explained. They, of all German peoples, adhered most closely to Rome, and held themselves fixed on its soil with most tenacity. In the first decades of the Fifth Century they occupied the province of Lower Germany, a part of Belgium, and tracts in Northern Gaul. The presence, there, of earlier settlers of their race, and the fact that many high offices of state and the command of numerous cities were in the hands of Franks, facilitated their slow but steady advances. Formal cessions of land by Roman proprietors, at all events, took place. Aëtius was their main cause of trouble. They appear at first, like the Alamanni, to have been governed by petty cantonal kings, their most important conquests being, by the later Sagas, ascribed to Chloio, a Salic-Frank king. On his death, about 450, there arose a strife over the successorship, between his son Chlodobald and his relative Merovaëus (Merowig or Merwig), that resulted in elevating the Merovingian house to the headship of the people, and in the fateful conflict of races on the Catalaunian Fields (modern Champagne).

Of the march of events at this time in the interior of Germany, tradition has little or nothing to say. The appearance of the Thuringi in the beginning of the Fifth Century, in the country of the Hermunduri, stands out as the most prominent occurrence. The Thuringians dwelt in the hill-lands of the Saale and Werra, and seem, in course of time, to have expanded themselves towards the southeast, as far as the Danube,

so that their name came to be used as a collective term for all the south-eastern peoples.

In this period, too, the Saxons make their proper entrance into history, through an act bearing world-wide consequences. This was the conquest and settlement of the greater part of Britain. The story is so legendary that we can detect but a few facts of history in it. Hengist and Horsa, we are told, initiated the undertaking by setting out on a plundering expedition with three long ships. The coasts of Britain had long been a prey for the piratical dwellers on the shores of the North Sea. Simultaneously, Britain was attacked on the north by the Picts and Scots, on the west by the Irish. The last remains of the legionaries had, with the rising of the usurper, Constantius, against Stilicho, been transferred to the continent, and the natives left to defend themselves, aided now and then by insufficient Roman auxiliary troops. Far and wide the Picts and Scots laid waste the land, while the natives aggravated the disorder by their own dissensions, which were only increased by the ecclesiastical disorders of a sunken clergy.

About the middle of the Fifth Century, the Britons seem, in their despair, to have made common cause with the harassing Saxons against their hated Caledonian persecutors. The Germans received tracts of land in the county of Kent, under the suzerainty of the British king, Vortigern. They were probably pirates who had landed on the coast, whom the Britons had used as auxiliaries. They fought bravely, however, and, constantly reinforced by new bands from their home on the continent, waxed ever stronger, till from allies they developed into enemies bent on conquest. The favorable opportunity seems to have set the whole northern coast of Europe in motion. Soon after the Saxons, came the Angles out of Holstein; then the Jutes, from the northern part of the Cimbrian Chersonese. These tribesmen landed in separate groups. The members of the Saxon confederacy settled mainly in the South and on the Thames, the Jutes, in Kent, on the Isle of Wight, and in the North. The Angles took the North, settling first principally between Hadrian's Wall and the Humber. During the course of long-protracted struggles, the Britons fell backward more and more, and on their former possessions arose little German states. Hengist, the leader of the first piratical bands, became chief of the earliest settlers, and was regarded as the founder of a Germanic kingdom in Kent. The course of events was similar in Sussex, Wessex, and elsewhere. For a century and a half the struggle for possession of the land went on.

A little earlier in time, and more brilliant in execution, was the conquest of Africa by the Vandals. The Goths had driven the remains of

the Alans, the Suevi, and the Asdingian Vandals, into the mountains of Galicia and Asturia in Spain. After the departure of the Goths, internal dissensions immediately arose. The Suevi suffered terribly from the Vandals; the latter, however, were assailed by the Roman commander, Asterius, so that they deserted their rugged mountain-land, and retreated southward to the sunny fields of Bactica, which had formerly been the abiding-place of their Silingian kinsmen. Here Castinus, the Roman commander, supported by bands of Goths, sought them out, to suffer, after gaining partial successes, a decisive defeat. Twenty thousand of his warriors were left on the field. The Vandals became thereby the dominant people of the Peninsula, and were able to confirm and extend their power.

During their long wars and frequent changes of home, the Vandals had in a great measure lost their settled habits, and become again a state of warriors. Their successes had enhanced their strength and love of adventure, while their new, sea-girt home suggested projects of maritime expeditions. Their young king, Guntheric, was still a minor, and his older, illegitimate brother, Genseric (Gaiseric), appears not only to have directed their affairs as regent, but also, later, to have maintained a decisive influence over the people. He probably directed their line of action. In 425, they attacked the Balearic Isles, destroyed Cartagena and Seville, and made successful forays on the African coast as far as Mauretania (Morocco and Western Algiers). No wonder that, from this time on, they kept their eyes directed toward the granary of the world, toward which the Goths had looked from Sicily and Spain. Unexpected circumstances came to their assistance.

Boniface, Roman governor of Africa, had, through the intrigues of



FIG. 90.—Coin of Genseric (Gaiseric). (After Friedländer.)

his rival, Aëtius, fallen into disfavor at the court of Ravenna, been declared an enemy of his country, and pursued with war. In consequence of these dissensions, the Vandals, either of their own motion or at the call of Boniface, crossed the straits into Africa, where a strong anti-Orthodox church-party yearned for them. King Guntheric had fallen in battle, and Genseric, one of the most powerful figures in that age of

heroes, was now sole ruler (Fig. 90). He is described as "of low stature, and lamed by a fall from a horse, deep in his designs, taciturn, averse to pleasure, liable to be transported by fury, greedy of conquest, and cunning in sowing the seeds of discord amongst nations and setting them against each other." To this it may be added that he was far-seeing, warlike, rapacious, revengeful, of restless spirit and indomitable resolution, and promptest of all men in action. It is said he was a convert from the Orthodox faith to Arianism, and rumor charged him with fratricide. Genseric represents, in an exaggerated degree, the characteristics of his race, which, according to Orosius, were greed, faithlessness, and cunning.

In May, 429, the king with his Vandal hosts landed on the Mauretanian coast. His host consisted of 80,000 armed men, whom he divided into bands of thousands. A strangely mixed mass, for the most part Vandals, but likewise Alans, Goths, and even Roman Provincials. Before them lay the wide-spreading fertile land—the seat of intellectual and spiritual culture—with its apostle, St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo.

Precisely at this time, Boniface succeeded in becoming reconciled to the court of Ravenna, whereby his relations toward Genseric became hostile. Negotiations proved fruitless. The Vandals opened the war, and poured into Mauretania. The over-cautious policy of Rome, which had left most of the African cities without any defence, co-operated with the hate of the anti-Orthodox to the Athanasians, in their favor. On the confines of Numidia a battle with Boniface ensued, with disastrous results for Rome. Boniface retreated into Hippo, and, with the aid of the confederate Goths, defended it vigorously, while nearly all the rest of the province fell into the hands of the victors. The Vandals raised the siege at the end of fourteen months. Through the support of both Ravenna and Byzantium, Boniface was once more able to resume the offensive. In an ensuing battle, Rome was again defeated. Nevertheless, the intruders would assuredly have been ultimately overpowered by the united forces of the Eastern and the Western Empires, had not the rivalry of Aëtius and Boniface called the latter to Italy. Aëtius was defeated, but Boniface, sorely wounded in the battle, died shortly thereafter. All the cities of Africa, with the exception of Cirta and Carthage, fell into the power of these barbarians. Europe failed to make any energetic effort for the defence of Africa, and in February, 435, the consul, Aspar, concluded a treaty at Hippo, by which he surrendered to the invaders all their conquests, in return for which they were to pay yearly tribute—probably in grain—and perhaps, nominally, to acknowledge Rome's headship. In fact they were lords of the land, and after years of wan-

dering strife, they could now lay the foundations of an ordered national life.

Such a condition was first attained on Roman soil by the Visigoths, not, indeed, under Wallia, the founder of the Kingdom of Toulouse, who died in 419, but under his successor, Theodoric I., 419-451. The efforts of the latter ruler were directed both to the confirmation of his power at home and to its further extension. The division of the land with the Provincials, as the groundwork of all further development, appears to have first claimed his attention; while, at the same time, he did not forget his duties as an ally. He sent the Roman commander auxiliaries against his old foe, the Vandals. But, when disorders tending to disintegration broke out in consequence of the death of Honorius, he deemed the opportunity had come for extending his domains. He captured several cities in the province of Narbonensis, and laid siege to the important city of Arles—since 418 the capital of the seven Gallie Provinces. Still, Aëtius came to its relief at the right time; and when, in 429, the Goths made a second attempt on the city, he again preserved it for Rome. After this failure, Theodoric seems to have striven both to make allies of the Spanish Suevi, and to put himself on the footing of a friendly confederate of the imperial court. By this latter step he became involved in the struggle between Aëtius and Boniface, and, in the decisive conflict, Gothic troops fought on the side of the latter.

When Aëtius, freed from his rival, began the reconquest of half-lost Gaul from the revolted Armoricans and Bagaudae as well as from Burgundians, Alamanni, and Franks, he came in collision also with the Goths. They had tried to capture Narbonne, but had been foiled through a daring stroke of the Roman Litorius. This general then concerted a plan with Aëtius for a combined attack on the Gothic capital, but this was foiled by the one-sided action of the former, who, in the hope of winning the glory by the single-handed capture of Toulouse, made a dash at the city before Aëtius came up. The attempted attack was converted into a defeat, and Litorius himself was wounded and made prisoner. The Goths continued the war for some time, till peace was concluded through the intervention of Avitus, prefect of Gaul, not entirely without loss to Rome. In accordance with their duties as allies, the Goths fought once more in the armies of the Western Empire, particularly against the Suevi of Spain.

The expenditure of the power of Rome in Gaul had afforded these Suevi time and opportunity to follow more and more in the footsteps of the Vandals. Under their kings, Hermeric and Rekila, they had spread from their Galician mountains toward the south, the provinces of Baetica

and Cartagena falling into their hands. Supported by Gothic tribes, the Roman general, Vitus, endeavored to drive them back, but, in 446, he was overthrown in a bloody fight. Rekila's son and successor, Rekiar, felt himself strong enough to cross the Ebro and press forward even to the Pyrenees.

Theodoric saw that this people had grown to a power with which he should have to reckon, and which eventually might be used as an ally. Consequently he married his daughter to Rekiar, who came in person to Toulouse. In a similar way he sought to attach the Vandals to himself, but his daughter was returned to him barbarously mutilated, in consequence of which he declared war on her inhuman persecutors. Goths, Suevi, and Romans found themselves united against a common enemy; the Goths and Romans in an alliance for war. The hosts of Western Europe were already looking toward the south, when one of those world-transforming incidents, in which this time was so rich, intervened. Attila, the king of the Huns, appeared in the confines of Gaul.

The events of the first half of the Fifth Century bore fruit for all future time. While the West-Germans had slowly developed themselves as husbandmen, a portion of the Eastern tribes had, after tumultuous migrations, settled down in Gaul, Spain, and Africa. The Empire was profoundly affected and its former status altered. Hitherto, the connection of Roman and German of the two nations had been to the disadvantage of the German. Now the case was different. Now the Germanic tribes ruled as lords of the conquered districts. The imperial court and the provincials had to come to terms with them. The provincials did this, in many instances not unwillingly; the imperial court, because it had no longer the power to refuse.

CHAPTER XIV.

ATTILA.

(A. D. 433-453.)

WEAKENED as the Empire was, it still remained the foremost power of the West. The state-system of Rome, guided and, as it were, personified by Aëtius—the true child of his time—was still the central point of the political life of Europe. This statesman it was who last united the chief divisions of the West in one common object (Fig. 91). The last bond of unity died with him, and the nationalities raised themselves unconfinèd on the ruins of a mighty empire. Aëtius's father was of Moesian extraction; his mother was an Italian. As a hostage, he had lived at the court of Alaric and with the Huns, where he received his political and military training. He had the qualities which then marked the born ruler. The army saw in him the perfect horseman, the expert swordsman, the daring and unwearyed soldier, the leader to be trusted. As a statesman, his dominant idea was to obtain mastery. Imperious, ambitious, fertile in resources and intriguing, above the little passions of the day, affable to all, yet without one trait to win the heart, he was given up to the thought of being great and of accomplishing what was great. With all the energy of his powerful nature he worked himself forward to power, and, this attained, he maintained his position for twenty years in the face of an unfriendly imperial court, almost solely by virtue of his individuality.

Gaul was the proper sphere of his labors. From it he cast only occasionally anxious glances out on the neighboring provinces. In the adjoining countries we notice how in these still thoroughly Romanized



FIG. 91. — Aëtius. Relief upon an ivory diptych at Monza. (Planché.)

regions conditions had changed. Rome could no longer use the German peoples for her purposes, as formerly. National spirit began to be a power, and made the legions untrustworthy. The Goth enlisted under his native king. The provincials, all unused to war, offered no compensation for the loss to the legions, and Aëtius seems to have recruited his ranks from the uncolonized Germanic tribes, the Gepidae, Heruli, Sciri, etc., and, above all, to have attracted Huns into his service. To the kings of this people he stood in close relationship. Ever more frequent and stronger bands of these barbarians entered the Roman armies. But the Hun returned to his homeless steppes to tell of the prevalent conditions, of the reigning discord, and all this at a time when the power of his folk was at its highest.

After the first onslaught of the nomadic people that gave rise to the great wandering of the nations, a quieter time had followed. The dominion of the Huns extended from Panmonia to the Ural Mountains, but was split up among a number of chiefs, and rested, in good measure, on subjugated peoples that lived near them or intermixed with them, and mostly stood in the relation of tributaries or vassals, a relation that did not materially affect their internal conditions.

The most considerable of these tributary peoples belonged to the great Gothic group. The Ostrogoths were thinly scattered along the Lower Danube, with offshoots stretching probably to Pannonia. Under Hunimund and Thorismund, son and grandson of Hermanric, their power waxed, through fortunate wars against their Germanic neighbors. But in the midst of their wars and victories abroad, discord showed itself at home. Bold chiefs revolted against kings, one of the primary results of such conditions being the undertaking of Radagais against Italy. After a glorious victory over the Gepidae, Thorismund died by the fall of his horse. The Saga makes the Goths spend forty years, kingless, in mourning for their youthful hero. The outlines of Gothic history now become hazy. The heir to the throne was a minor, a circumstance of which the Huns appear to have availed themselves to extend their authority over the rising people. Gesimund, whom the Goths chose for their king, declined the dignity and preserved it for the house of the Amals, obviously convinced that hereditary right and tradition alone could support the throne in the present perilous juncture. Finally, Walamer, Thorismund's nephew, ascended the throne, his brothers, Theodemer and Widemer, coming into prominence at his side. These two were probably viceroys under the kingship of Walamer, while the headship of the Huns rose above all. We may see in this tripartite division the combined influence of the conditions in the Amal family

and the clever policy of Attila, to whom a unified Gothic monarchy seemed dangerous. Next to the Ostrogoths, the Gepidae were the most powerful German tribe. They too had wandered from the Baltic, probably up the Vistula and behind the Goths proper toward the south into the Carpathian Mountains. After a bloody defeat by Ostrogotha, king of the Goths, they retreated for a time, to reappear, as it seems, more numerous than the Goths. Their king, Ardaric, was the trusted friend of Attila, and the most prominent sovereign over whom the Hunnish prince held sway.

The original seats of the Heruli on the Baltic seem to have lain to the west of the country of the Gepidae, whence they made incursions into all parts of the world, from Scandinavia on the north to the lands beyond the Rhine and the coasts of the Black Sea. A section of them appeared on the Caspian, where their bands of light horsemen were defeated by Hermanric. At the irruption of the Huns, they were driven westward into the regions of the Danube. They, too, appear under the leadership of their king among the followers of Attila. Besides these were the Rugii, the Sciri, and the Tursilingi, all probably originally settled near the mouths of the Oder. The Sciri reached the Black Sea at an early period, and were in the field sometimes on the side of, sometimes against, the Huns. On the other hand, we find mention of the Suevi, remnants of the old Suevians, from whom also sprang the Quadi and Marcomanni, and perhaps fragments of the Quadi to whom the old name clung. They dwelt in the Middle Danube and farther inland.

The chief power on the north of the Danube was now that of the Huns, who were steadily being drawn into relation to the Roman Empire. Aëtius is said, in 424, to have led 60,000 Huns to Italy to aid the anti-emperor, Johannes, whom he supported after the death of Honorius. In 425, bands of Huns crossed the Danube, traversed and plundered Thrace, and entered the neighborhood of Constantinople. But this people never became of real importance to the Empire till the time of their king, Rugilas (Ruas), who, living in Pannonia, was an ally of Aëtius. He extorted from Eastern Rome, more through policy than arms, a yearly tribute or peace-offering of 350 pounds of gold. In this way the Empire sought to protect itself against Huns by Huns, as formerly, by Germans against Germans. Upon a Byzantine embassy could the reproach be cast a few years later: "Ye have given up the guardianship of your land to Huns, but they are powerless to help you."

Rugilas, on his death in 433, was succeeded by his nephews, Attila and Bleda. Forthwith their attitude towards Byzantium became so menacing that Theodosius II. had to double the amount of the tribute,

and bind himself to deliver up all Hunnish deserters and enter into no compact with enemies of the Huns. The last was the cardinal point of the contract, for, using it as a pretext, the brothers could proceed to conquer a world-empire, for which Roman gold supplied the means. The foundation of this empire was built on two lines: first, by the extermination or subjugation of all other Hunnish chiefs; second, by the extension of Hunnish sway over the neighboring peoples. The mighty word of the brothers appears gradually to have had force in the wide steppes of Hungary and Russia, far into Asia, as well as on the Danish isles and in the interior of Germany. Attila's last step was the getting rid of his brother, so as to be able alone to take steps for the subjugation of Europe.

In 441 and 442, the Huns burst again into the Balkan Peninsula. Theodosius, engaged in an attempt to reconquer Africa from the Vandals, was poorly equipped to meet them. Desolation and rapine spread everywhere. An inroad of Attila, in 447, brought him close to the gates of Constantinople. All the cities of the country, save Adrianople and Heraclæa, fell into his power. Bloody battles were fought, in which the Huns maintained the upper hand. Theodosius had to make a disgraceful peace, which burdened him with an exorbitant sum (6000 pounds of gold for backstanding tribute alone), but restored him his kingdom with the exception of a portion south of the Danube. In vain did he seek to evade the harsh conditions—entering even into a scheme of murder. He died in 450, and an energetic successor was found in Marcian (Fig. 92). When the Hunnish envoys appeared before the new emperor to receive the tribute for the year, he announced to them that Attila might receive the gifts as a friend, but as an enemy he would be encountered with weapons. This was manfully spoken, and, considering the Hunnish preponderance, might have had momentous consequences, had Attila not already planned the establishment of a universal monarchy on the ruins of the sinking Western Empire and of the half-developed German states.

The general situation of affairs, and personal considerations, worked to one end. Honoria, daughter of the empress Placidia, being ill-treated by her brother Valentinian III., had offered her hand to Attila. He fell in with her proposition, and declaring himself the defender of the rights of his betrothed, demanded for her a share in the government. Valentinian rejected the claim. Among the Franks, strife had broken out over the question of the succession to the throne, and the younger son of Merovæus had hastened to the imperial court and won it over to his interest, while the elder sought the support of Attila. The antagonism between the court of Ravenna and the Hunnish king was thus sharp-

ened, which was, furthermore, increased by another cause. Genseric was threatened at once by the Visigoths and Romans, with whom he was unable to cope. In his extremity, he too turned to Attila, who heard him only too willingly. Owing to the growing complications between the Romans and Huns, the latter appear to have been simultaneously recalled from the imperial army by their king and dismissed by Aëtius. The alliance with the Visigoths offered an immediate compensation to the latter.

The weightiest portion of the mainland of Europe lay thus separated into two groups, vaster than for centuries. On the one side were the motley and conglomerate, though powerful, kingdoms of the Huns and of the Vandals; on the other, Gaul and Italy: for the larger part, too, of the Burgundians and Franks, of the tribes of Brittany and Armorica, united themselves to the allied Romans and Visigoths. On the one hand we see the Hunnish-Germanic—the less civilized and heathen—element; on the other, the Roman-Germanic—the more civilized and Christian.

Both parties must have looked with anxiety to the future. In regard to numbers, the advantage lay with the Huns, and their host was under a single head. In intelligence and armament, the superiority lay on the side of Rome, whose numerous fortified Gallic towns stood it in good stead. Had the Huns conquered, the Western Empire would have been overthrown twenty years earlier than it was. For a time everything would have been con-

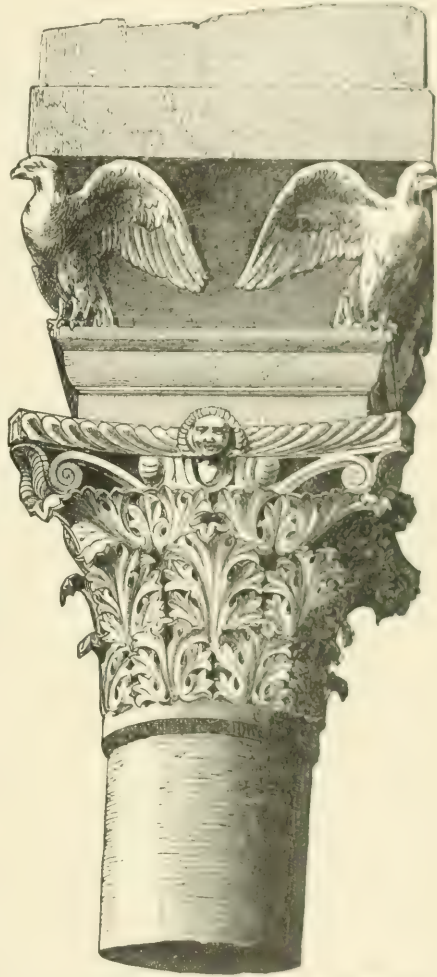


FIG. 92.—Capital of the Column of the Emperor Marcian, in Constantinople. White marble. (From Salzenberg.)

fusion worse confounded, till German ascendancy should again vindicate itself; for the Huns were neither numerous enough nor cultured enough to maintain permanently the empire of the world; while everything was concentrated in, and depended too exclusively on, one person—Attila. That the attack did not strike Italy, although it lay more exposed, and included the capital, must be attributed to Franco-Vandal influence and the more disunited condition of Gaul. Besides, the cities of Italy had recovered themselves, and were yet stronger and more numerous than those of Gaul; while the land failed in that which was, above all, a necessity for the swarms of Hunnish horsemen—fodder.

Slowly the wide-dispersed hordes gathered into the camp between the Danube and Theiss. Here were bath-houses constructed by a Roman prisoner; the buildings were of beams and smooth panel-work, and surrounded by a wooden fence. The house of the king towered here, the stateliest of all, and was watched by a chosen body of life-guards, who took their duty in turns on fixed days, and was surrounded by a turreted palisade. The buildings of the court were decorated with wood-carvings, or built of an arched form. The mighty ruler sat on a wooden throne, insignificant in the circle of the tall Germanic princes, a slant-eyed Oriental among his fair-haired companions, but lordly in his bearing, and with an eye lively and piercing. Attila was of a crafty, deeply earnest nature, and possessed of complete self-command; but when he flew into a violent passion, the fierce power of his nature made even the firmest quail. Inhuman to his foes, imperious in his manner, and arrogant in his claims, he yet understood how, when it served his purpose, to bind his friends to himself. Insatiable of conquest, he executed with the strength of a soldier and the brutality of a savage what his brooding brain and widely-scanning intellect devised. He walked with dignity among his richly attired train, distinguished by his simple dress and sword devoid of ornament. No figure has left such broad traces in the German Sagas as that of the alien Hunnish prince, the mighty Etzel (Attila).

Although master of a sort of camp-village, his kingdom was still the nomad kingdom of the steppes. The easily-moved tents were pitched and struck according to needs or humor. When the ruler entered his wood-built capital, he was received by maidens that walked in rows before him, singing under thin white veils that they held aloft expanded, so that under each veil there went seven maidens. Arrived at the door of one of his confidants, the wife came forth followed by many servants, did obeisance to him, and offered him wine and delicacies, which his followers held on high on a silver table, while he himself, seated on horseback, tasted the fare.

Among many wives Attila had one principal spouse, named Kerka. She lived in one of the inclosed houses, whose floor was covered with woollen carpets. There she reclined on a soft couch surrounded by maids, while others crouched on the ground opposite her, and with parti-colored threads embroidered fine linen, which was to be used as ornaments of dress.

In the principal building, benches for the guests at meals stood along the long walls on both sides, those on the right side being for the more eminent. In the centre, was a divan for the king, and behind this, a lounge concealed by veils and variegated curtains. At the threshold, the guests were welcomed with a drink, and then were assigned their places according to their rank. The closest confidants and sons of the king sat beside him on his right and left. When all were seated, the cup-bearer entered and presented to Attila a goblet of wine. This he took, and greeted the guest he wished to distinguish. The person thus honored stood up and did not take his seat till the king had put the wine to his lips or drunk it out. Finally, the guests arose on their part and drank the health of the king—he keeping his seat.

Tables were brought in, first for Attila, then for the others, each for three or more persons. Those for the guests were richly spread with silver utensils and delicate dishes; that of the king showed nothing but flesh on wooden trenchers. Similarly, the guests drank from gold and silver goblets; he, only from wooden beakers. After each course, all stood up and pledged the host. On the approach of dusk, torches were lighted; two gleemen placed themselves opposite the king and sang his victories. In voices elevated by their copious libations the guests gave expression to their feelings. Some shouted, as in the hour of victory; others thought of the past, and the maudlin tears of old memories ran down their cheeks. As with the Greeks the diversion of the comedy followed on the solemnity of the tragedy, so here a Seythian fool was now introduced, who, by his grotesque gestures, provoked universal laughter, and after him came a hump-backed, bandy-legged dwarf. The carousal lasted till deep in the night.

Kerka, Attila's spouse, also was wont to invite guests to her table. There, each one present stood up and offered the stranger a full goblet, and when he had drunk it, the giver embraced and kissed him.

A carefully-planned ceremonial prevailed at the Hunnish court, wherein drink played an important part; that is, Germanic custom obtained in the Hunnish court, without, however, penetrating far into the apartments of the women. These remained Oriental. The people, too, lived after their native customs. The horse was still their most valued possession.

In place of wheat, millet was the staple grain. As ferryboats, they used the hollowed-out trunks of trees; as lights, the kindled pith of rushes dipped in tallow. If a host would particularly distinguish a guest, he sent him not only victuals but beautiful women to be his companions. Still, it is very significant that their beverages were German mead and German beer. The punishments were cruel; crucifixion was customary. Yet men lived so well under the rule of Attila that a dainty Greek preferred it to that of Byzantium. Despite his power, Attila remained a patriarchal king, who, in his own person, declared the right before his household.

In Attila's camp then the greatest variety of people gathered, particularly in the autumn of 450, when preparations were made for the invasion of the West. This medley of wild races marched up the Danube to the Rhine, which was crossed in the spring of 451. The core of the army was formed by the Hunnish horsemen and auxiliaries from the Ostrogoths and Gepidae. On the way, all the able-bodied had to join the ranks—Suevi, Quadi, Marcomanni, Thuringians, Bructeri, as well as Burgundians and Franks from the right bank of the Rhine. With a host estimated at 500,000 men, Attila stepped on Gallic soil.

On Easter-Saturday Metz went up in flames; in June, Orleans was beset; while outrunning bands scoured all Northern France. The city defended itself bravely under its devoted bishop, but had to surrender. The inhabitants were to be raffled for as slaves. The wagons were already heavily laden with plunder, when relief suddenly came in view—it was Aëtius with his allies.

At the last moment, this commander, thanks to his energy and alertness, had rallied the strength of the West. The Burgundians, under their king, Gundioc, had joined him; likewise the Franks of Merovaens, and even Saxon and Alamannian bands. The greatest difficulty was offered by the haughty and ambitious Visigoths; but at length they agreed to operate at the side of Aëtius, but independently under their own king, Theodoric.

The appearance of Aëtius and his hosts before Orleans was a surprise to the Huns, who were neither sufficiently concentrated nor organized for battle. They retreated accordingly, but were overtaken and defeated, and thus lost much of their prestige. Attila crossed the Seine into the regions of Champagne, whose broad plains offered him the best facilities for the employment of his superior cavalry force. Here he concentrated his masses.

The decisive battle took place in the Catalaunian Fields between Châlons and Troyes, probably near the ancient town of Moirey, and in the

month of August. On the one side stood Theodoric with his Visigoths on the right wing; Aëtius with the Romans on the left; in the centre, the less reliable Alans. On the other side, Attila held the centre with the core of his host; the Gepidae and Ostrogoths on the left were opposed to the Visigoths. Between the two armies, or at one side, there rose a hill. There was some hesitation in opening the desperate conflict. Attila had little confidence of victory. It is said a soothsayer had told him that he should be defeated, but that the hostile leader should fall.

It was not till three o'clock in the afternoon that both parties began to move on the hill. Aëtius occupied it first, and repelled the Huns when they endeavored to storm it. The fight paused for a brief space, then a hand-to-hand struggle ensued, such as antiquity nowhere else reports. In the turmoil Theodoric fell. Ungovernable fury seized his people, and they seem to have first shattered and dispersed the wing standing opposed to them, and then to have turned upon the centre, which was sorely threatening the Alans. Attila, himself, was in imminent peril. When evening came, it found not only the Huns driven back, but the Roman-Visigothic lines entirely broken. All was in wild disorder. Thorismund, son of Theodoric, and Aëtius, hurried from point to point, scarcely distinguishing friend from foe.

The bloodiest fight of that age of battles had been fought. The sun of the next morning looked upon a field of corpses.

Legend has claimed this battle for her own. She tells of its 165,000 victims, and a river of human blood which slaked the thirst of the warriors, a note which many centuries later still rings out in the woe of the Nibelungen.

Attila was repulsed but not defeated. Within the fortress of his wagon-fort he re-ordered his ranks, but did not renew the conflict. Nor did the allies dare to risk an attack, but, in a council of war, decided to besiege the foe and compel him, through hunger, to retreat. The body of Theodoric was found amid a pile of corpses, and was buried with pomp, in view of the enemy.

As for the description of the battle, as well as for what followed thereon, Jornandes is our main authority, and is, unfortunately, not wholly trustworthy. It appears that both sides found themselves shaken by their heavy losses, and that Attila turned homewards toward Pannonia without being seriously pursued by the allies; that the young Thorismund, now the king of the Goths, was eager for pursuit, but that Aëtius dissuaded him therefrom: for he held that he had nothing to gain and possibly much to lose, and thought it more prudent for Thorismund to turn to Toulouse and secure himself against the rival brothers.

The West regarded Attila's schemes of conquest as baffled; not so he himself. He employed the winter in assembling a new army, with which he unexpectedly broke into Italy, in 453. Aquileia fell, his hordes, greedy for booty, poured into Venetia and the plains of Lombardy. A portion of the terror-stricken natives took refuge in the sand-banks of the Adriatic near the mouth of the Brenta, where the camp of the fugitives gradually grew into the proud Venice. Milan and Pavia were taken; the imperial court of Ravenna thought of fleeing to the East. Attila's design was on Rome. By degrees, however, a reaction set in. The climate of Italy engendered disease in his army; many strong cities and the bulwark of the Apennines impeded his advance; the scarcity of fodder must have made itself felt. Dissensions with the Ostrogoths added to his difficulties, and, superstition, it is said, taught him to believe that with the fall of Rome he must sink into the grave. When an embassy appeared with Pope Leo at its head, a compact was made, in accordance with which Attila evacuated North Italy and retired across the Danube.

The ecclesiastical Saga glorifies this first entrance of a Pope into the field of the world's history, by making the figure of St. Peter appear, sword in hand, and threaten the conqueror with death and destruction.

Like a wounded tiger, Attila crouched in his lair on the steppes. His want of success gnawed him to the quick, and he sent to the Byzantine emperor, Marcian, a demand that he should pay the former tribute of Theodosius. Suddenly, he died, in 453. According to the report, he had added the beautiful Ildiko to his many wives. At the nuptial-feast he drank too much wine, and when the marriage-chamber was entered next morning, he was found suffocated by hemorrhage, with the maiden weeping by his bedside with covered head. Another account is that he was stabbed at night by a woman at the instigation of Aëtius. The world breathed once more freely. The "Scourge of God" was no more.

Under a silken pavilion, in the midst of a plain, his mortal remains were borne by his trusted friends. The best horsemen rode round his bier, singing the solemn funeral-dirge; then on his sepulchral mound they sat them down to a carousal. Yet once again they would be joyous, their king in their midst. In the stillness of night they buried him, inclosed within three coffins—one of gold, one of silver, one of iron. His weapons and ornaments they interred along with him. That no man might disturb the rest of the restless and seize the buried treasure, they slew the men who dug his grave.

Not only the glory of the king, but that of his kingdom was laid in the tomb. Attila's numerous sons all wished to reign, and fell to

strife. Thereupon the tributary German tribes rose in revolt; the most important of their kings, Ardaric, with his Gepidæ, stood at their head. A terribly bloody battle was fought on the river Nedra, in Pannonia, in which the Huns were defeated, and the oldest of Attila's sons perished. After this defeat, the conquered hordes could no longer maintain themselves; they were driven eastward to the coasts of the Black Sea, and in their original seats the sons of Germany raised their heads.

The Gepidæ seized Dacia and a part of Hungary, and entered into friendship with Byzantium in return for yearly payments. Pannonia was occupied by the Goths with the consent of the emperor. The Rugii, Heruli, and Sciri seem to have acquired land, partly in Northern Bavaria and Austria, partly in Thrace; the Langobardi dwelt in Moravia, and South Silesia.

The Huns, too, recovered once more. In 466, they began anew their war on Eastern Rome, which, after repeated failures, ended by Dengisic, Attila's son, falling and his head being exhibited in the hippodrome of Constantinople. Attila's youngest son led the remains of the Huns deeper into the steppes, where, though they were at times brought into contact with Byzantium, they gradually disappeared among other nomads.

The Huns had accomplished their historical mission. They had inaugurated a new epoch in the history of the world.

CHAPTER XV.

THE FALL OF THE WEST-ROMAN EMPIRE.

(A. D. 451-476.)

THE Western Empire was to enjoy only a short respite in consequence of the great battle with the Huns. Passions, corruption, and weakness, were ceaselessly driving the Western Empire to destruction. Husbandry and state, like the coinage, fell more and more into disorder. The base Roman copper and silver coins returned from the barbarian provinces to Italy, gold coins streamed to the frontiers. In Byzantium and Ravenna, the emasculated family of Theodosius failed of manly offspring. In these straits women came into power. As these could not wield the sword, they had to lean for support on some powerful champion—Pulcheria in the East, on Marcian; Placidia in the West, on Aëtius.

To the energy of Aëtius the success against Attila and the deliverance of the emperor was ascribed. His authority and self-confidence grew—to be sure, at the expense of the court. Gaul proved the first difficulty. The adventurous Visigothic King, Thorismund, desiring to extend his sway, attacked the Alans and threatened the Roman city of Arles. He was held in check for the time by a valuable present from Aëtius, and from further undertakings was stopped by a conspiracy, headed by his brothers, Theodoric and Friedric. They slew him in his bed-chamber in 453, and the former became his successor as Theodoric II. He gave his brother and accomplice second place in the state. Well-disposed toward the Romans, he dispatched an army against the revolted Bagaudae in the district of Tarraconensis in Spain.

Aëtius was now at the summit of his power, which he took steps to perpetuate in his house by transferring it from its *de facto* to a *de jure* basis. Consequently, he wished his son to marry the emperor's daughter, which made him seem all the more a rival in the incapable Valentinian III.'s eyes. Instigated by his companions, Valentinian drew his sword on Aëtius in a heated discussion; beset on all sides, and covered with wounds, the brave Aëtius met his end.

This bloody deed, which took place September 21, 455, bore fatal fruits. Only a few months later, two German brothers-in-arms of the commander slew the murderer in the open Campus Martius, and no

hand was raised to save him. With Valentinian III. fell the last member of a hereditary family, the last representative of recognized authority. Misfortunes now flowed in like a flood.

The Germans considered themselves freed from all compact with the Empire; the Franks pressed forward toward the Somme; the Alamanni, toward the Saône and the North; the Burgundians engaged in conquests; even the Saxons came into Gaul; and the fidelity of the Visigoths became doubtful. Mutinies broke out among the military in the Roman districts. In order to secure support from the former ruling house, Maximus, the new emperor, who had been concerned in the murder of Valentinian, compelled the widow, Eudoxia, to marry him. He hoped also to marry her daughter to his son. The new marriage bred disaster. At least, a much doubted report tells how Eudoxia turned to the Vandal king Genseric, hoping to find in him the avenger of her husband.

Meanwhile, the Vandals had extended their sway into Africa. The preoccupation of Aëtius in Gaul, the theological discord in the African cities, all worked in their favor. During peace, Carthage was taken and cruelly wasted, and, as formerly from Spain, the covetous glances of the barbarians again swept the horizon from this maritime city. Piratical bands afflicted the coasts of Sicily and South Italy. Rome rebuilt her walls. A peace, concluded in 442, brought a short cessation of hostilities and divided Africa, by fixed boundaries, between Genseric and the emperor. A conspiracy against the former was quenched in the blood of the accomplices. How Genseric had demeaned himself during the incursions of Attila we do not know; at all events, after their failure, he was desirous of living on good terms with the emperor, and thought of becoming his brother-in-law, and desisted from his Arian persecution of the Catholics. In 454, he allowed the episcopal throne of Carthage to be reoccupied.

At this juncture Valentinian died. Genseric now believed himself to be freed from further obligations, while the friendly relations of the last years gave him a favorable pretext, as the avenger of the Theodosian house, for proceeding against Maximus. He embarked with his followers and landed at the mouth of the Tiber. All that could fled from Rome. The emperor was stoned by his court officials, who threw his mutilated body into the river. In the meantime, the terrible Vandals were advancing along the road from Ostia. No one dared go out to meet them, save the spiritual pastor, Pope Leo, who did so in virtue of his office. He prayed them to spare the city, but we have no means of knowing what his intercession effected.

On the third day after the murder of Maximus, in the first half of the month of June, 455, the Vandals entered the undefended city, which they plundered with brutal licentiousness for fourteen days. Booty-laden, they returned to their ships, carrying off with them thousands of prisoners—among them the Empress Eudoxia and her two daughters, of whom Eudocia was compelled to marry Genseric's son, Huneric. Genseric had satisfied his ambition by this royal alliance. The means he used is called "Vandalism," a term which remains to brand his people for all time.

The Eternal City never recovered from the effects of the sack of the Vandals. She began from that day to decay and to become ever more and more only a dumb memorial of bygone greatness. But this had no lasting effect on the Empire. The death of Maximus hastened its downfall more. He had appointed the faithful Avitus commander-in-chief in Gaul, who, supported by the Visigoths, was forthwith saluted as emperor by the army and the Romano-Gallic aristocracy in Arles. Acknowledged by Italy, having the Byzantine Marcian as an ally against the Vandals, supported by the Visigoths, who conquered the Spanish Suevi in his name—it seemed as if a Gallic sovereignty were once more to redeem the Empire and secure its permanence. But it already was at the beginning of the end.

Avitus had entrusted the army to Ricimer, whose father belonged to the royal family of the Suevi, his mother, to that of the Visigoths. Ricimer early entered the Roman service, and, Aëtius's notice having been attracted to him, his progress knew no bounds. He defeated the Vandals in Sicily and in the Corsican waters, formed a compact with the Roman Senate, overthrew the new emperor in a fight near Piacenza, deprived him of his crown, and compensated him with a bishopric.

In the East, both Pulcheria and Marcian had died. Ricimer was left master of the situation. The German race, which long had held the power, was now willing to exercise it. Sixteen years it did so in the person of Ricimer, not in the quality of emperor, but of "emperor-maker." Master of the army, and Patrician, he raised, or had raised, dependent wearers of the crown on the throne. The coins of the emperors he maintained bear his own monogram on the reverse.

Ricimer was the highly-endowed child of a corrupt generation and a time of the most violent contrasts—a man warlike, domineering, and passionate; with a heart full of conscious strength and ambition, yet also of wile, envy, and self-seeking, without fear of God or man. For a considerable time he left the throne unoccupied, probably to watch the course of events at Byzantium. When the tribune Leo attained the imperial

dignity, Ricimer entered into good relations with him, by conferring the Empire of the West on his favorite Majorian. The nominal recognition of East-Roman supremacy made his position more easy to be maintained, indeed, in a certain measure, made it possible. In reality, he acted according to his own free will.

The new emperor belonged to an honorable stock, and proved himself worthy of it alike in peace and war. Majorian may be called the last of the better emperors. He did his best for the Empire—at home, by a reform of the laws; abroad, through arms. After defeating a Vandal pirate-fleet at the mouth of the Liris, he betook himself, in December, 458, with an essentially German-Hunnish army over the Alps into Gaul, where he had to reckon with the adherents of Avitus—Gallic partisans, Burgundians, and Visigoths. Lyons was recaptured; but he came to terms with the Burgundians, and the Gothic king was defeated before Arles by count Aegidius. Majorian was so successful in restoring the prestige of the Empire, that

Burgundians, as well as Visigoths, returned to their duty toward it, and afforded aid in a great expedition against the Vandals. But the wily and enterprising foe understood how to foil the enterprise, by impeding his disembarkation through laying waste the coast of Mauretania, and by winning over through treachery a part of the fleet assembled for the landing. Thus Majorian was forced to desist, for the time, from his attempt on Africa; and when he returned to Italy, the machinations of Ricimer produced a military revolt. On August 2, 461, he was overpowered in the camp near Tortona, and, a few days later, murdered. The emperor had obviously been too independent for his master of the forces; he had, therefore, to be put out of the way, and care was taken that his successor should be more subservient.

No emperor after Majorian ever trod Gallic or Spanish soil. Henceforth, Roman generals strive with all their energies to maintain there the prestige and possessions of the Empire. Aegidius, whose centre of action



FIG. 93.—An *exagium* of Ricimer, emperor, with thin strips of silver inlaid, upon which the inscription has been carved and then filled with malleo, a black leaden substance. Size of the original. Weight that of the gold solidus. (Berlin.)

Ordinarily *exagia* bear the name of the emperor, and on the reverse that of the *praefectus urbi*, whose duty it was to issue them. This specimen, however, has upon the obverse SALVIS DD NN (dominis nostris) ET PATRICIO RICIMERE. The omission of the name of the emperor indicates the extent of the claim made by Ricimer to honors belonging to the emperors. His emperors were Leo I. in Constantinople, and Lybius Severus (possibly another), in Rome. Reverse: PLOTINVS EVSTATHIVS Vir Clarissimus VRBI PRAEFECTVS FECIT. (From J. Friedländer.)

was Soissons, refused to acknowledge the pseudo-emperor, Lybrius Severus, and in the complications consequent on his action, the Visigoths became



FIG. 94.—Copper coin of Lybrius Severus. (Berlin.) Obv.: head of Lybrius Severus, with legend—*Dominus Noster Lybrius SEVERUS Pius Augustus*. The power of Ricimer is shown in his giving, on the reverse of this diminutive copper coin of Lybrius Severus, his own monogram—RICIMER. (Julius Friedländer.)

masters of Narbonne. A war was carried on with varying fortune, in the course of which Aegidius was slain. His son, Syagrius, was the heir of his cares. Now even the Franks began their encroachments. One of their kings pressed forward to the Loire, where he came in collision with Saxon tribes. Like the Vandals on the Mediterranean, the sea-faring Saxons now dominated over the English Channel and its coasts, as well in Britain as in France. Not only Aegidius, but the brave Marcellinus, in Dalmatia, refused to recognize the phantom emperor.

Marcellinus also asserted his independence, and won esteem and respect in his wars against the Vandals.

Now that Spain was occupied by Visigoths and Suevi, Ricimer saw himself restricted, with his emperor, to Italy. Troublous times soon set in, for although the master of the army protected the northern frontiers against Alamanni and Ostrogoths, the long stretch of coasts lay at the mercy of the master of the seas, and that was not Ricimer, but Genseric. Personal enmity between these two potentates aggravated the situation. Incessantly the Vandal descended on Italy. No corner was secure from the clutch of his plundering grasp, that laid waste the low country far and wide; but he kept aloof from cities, and shunned serious encounters. At the same time, Genseric understood how to make himself the centre of attraction for Ricimer's enemies, and he demanded that the senator Olybrius should be elevated to the imperial throne. The sister of Eudocia was betrothed to Olybrius, and Eudocia was the wife of Genseric's son, Humeric, so that it is scarcely to be doubted that the Vandal king fostered wide-laid schemes for the elevation of his house to the throne of the West. Ricimer defended himself as best he could, but the want of timber in Italy retarded the building of a fleet. At length, in 466, he succeeded in collecting one, but it was detained in Sicily by contrary winds and attained no result. The undertaking appears to have been regarded with alarm, for the ambassadors of the Suevi and the Visigoths left Africa as soon as they heard of it.

This failure reacted on its author. Italy alone was not strong enough to contend with the Vandals, and the Senate appealed to the Eastern emperor, Leo, declaring that the Empire was lost without his sup-

port. Leo was by no means disinclined to listen to their prayer, but as he wished to have Italy more completely within his power, he raised, on the death of Severus, the high-born Greek, Anthemius, to the Western throne. He sent him forth with all the pomp of ceremony and an illustrious following. In April, 467, he was received before the gates of the Eternal City with solemn festivities. The enthronement ensued after long negotiations; Ricimer abided by it, because he thus had a prospect of getting Byzantine help, and of receiving the daughter of the Augustus to wife. But how stood it with the once all-powerful imperial dignity? Leo regarded the new emperor as his viceroy; Anthemius himself acknowledged in Leo his lord and father.

Not the less, the change in the manner of succession invigorated the Empire. Arvandus, prefect of Gaul, who had entered into a traitorous correspondence with the king of the Visigoths, was brought to Rome and condemned to death by the Senate. This is the last process at the instance of the state, in its character of a republic, of which we have accurate information. The judgment, though outwardly received with respect, remained without effect, and immediately Seronatus, the successor of Arvandus, made himself yet more guilty, and was pronounced also worthy of death.

The danger from the Vandals remained in the foreground, and here the alliance of East and West seemed to promise great results. A common fleet of more than a thousand ships was equipped, and 100,000 soldiers are supposed to have been collected. The early successes of the allies gave ground for high hopes. Carthage itself, the capital of the Vandals, was on the point of being captured; yet the lack of united action brought on complete failure.

Less impeded than ever, the Vandal corsairs swarmed on the coasts, an alliance with the Visigoths having given them the complete ascendancy. And while ruin was approaching with giant strides from without, Italy itself was split into factions between the nominal and actual rulers. Anthemius, proud of his high birth and transcendent dignity, saw in the "pelt-clad" barbarian an inferior with whom it was an act of grace to hold intercourse. Ricimer, on the other hand, was quite accustomed to see emperors cast down from their pride of place, and retired sullenly to Milan. The Augustus remained in Rome.

In 472, the breach came. Ricimer led from his capital, Milan, an army, consisting essentially of Germans, against the City on the Seven Hills. The Senate and people held by their legitimate head. Rome was besieged for several months, and given up to famine and pestilence. A Goth, Bilinger, commander of Gaul, offered the most resolute resistance, till Ricimer

succeeded, after a bloody fight, in pressing forward from the tomb of Hadrian over the bridge and storming the Aurelian gate. Bilimer fell in the conflict. Plundering and murdering, the victors raged through the streets. Anthemius continued to defend himself in the Palatine till he was deserted by his people, when he was slain in flight.

Before this, Ricimer had looked out for a successor, and had found him in Olybrius, husband of Placidia, the younger daughter of Eudoxia. He took from the head of the mangled Anthemius the diadem of the emperor to place it on that of Olybrius. Senate and people acknowledged him. Better times might now have been hoped for, for Olybrius satisfied the most opposite parties. Leo I. was well affected toward him, Genseric had supported his candidature for years, and Ricimer combined the two widely diverging interests, and gave ear to the wishes of his most dangerous enemy. But Ricimer died suddenly. His position, as if hereditary, fell to a nephew, the Burgundian prince, Gundobad. Olybrius decorated Gundobad with the patriciate, now the highest office, but died shortly thereafter, October 23, 472.

Italy was frightfully convulsed. The Vandal curse and the terribly oppressive taxes had crushed out the last remnants of prosperity. The cities fell into ruins, the land lay waste, the administrative machine had broken down. With the apathy of despair, men looked dumbly on at this sad vicissitude of fate. Three powers strove for supremacy in the country—the Greek emperor, the city of Rome with its military adherents, and the commander of the barbarian troops. The latter gained the ascendancy at first, and placed Glycerius, a man of unknown antecedents, on the throne. A continuation of Ricimer's policy seemed imminent, when Gundobad was called home through the death of his father. Glycerius thus lost his support, and, before he was fairly seated on the throne, an anti-emperor arose. Constantinople still held fast to its claim on the Western Empire. Circumstances seemed favorable for Julius Nepos, a connection of the imperial house. He entered Italy with an army, dethroned Glycerius, and on June 24, 474, was saluted in Rome as emperor.

Events crowded on each other like the convulsive spasms of a dying man. The alliance between the Vandals and Goths had had momentous results. The latter entered Gaul and became masters of the whole region between the Loire and Rhone, with the exception of the bravely defended Auvergne. In vain did Nepos seek to retain this latter district; he had eventually to surrender it to the foe. In these straits, he named Orestes as patrician and commander of the barbarian troops; but the Italian mercenaries refused to be led into Gaul. Taking advan-

tage of their mood, Orestes revolted and marched on Ravenna, where the emperor was holding court. Nepos fled to Salona, where he continued to bear the imperial title and the rule over Dalmatia, while the power passed into the hands of his more fortunate rival.

Orestes was a Roman of Pannonia. Formerly the private secretary of Attila, he had taken part in many negotiations between Romans and Huns, and had then become a soldier by profession. He maintained the wonted relation between the patrician and the emperor; yet, on October 21, 475, he placed his young son Romulus upon the throne, so that the discord which had often broken out between the two dignities seemed to be averted in the simplest and most natural way possible. But the new Augustus—known to history by the derisive diminutive of Augustulus—who, by the irony of fate, bore the name of the founder of Rome, was to continue in power only a year, and he was to be the last of a long, pitiful line.

Romulus fell through the same influence that had worked so fatally for Rome—that of the German mercenaries. Under Ricimer and Gundobad these soldiers had been lords in the land. Their position was now in so far changed that Orestes, who was at their head, represented also the interests of Rome. To gain a footing, they demanded that a part of Italy should be given up to them, for the agrarian interests of the other German peoples had taken hold on them also. Orestes rejected the demand, for their settlement would have resulted in the abrogation of Roman administration. Thereupon the mercenaries raised one of their countrymen, Odoacer, to the leadership, and forthwith his struggle with Orestes began. The Patrician drew reinforcements from the neighboring German lands. His adversary tried to draw him as far north as possible; first, to Lodi, then to Pavia. Here the decisive battle was fought. Odoacer conquered, and stormed the city. Orestes fell into his hands, and was beheaded in sight of his army, not far from Piacenza.

In consequence of this victory, the mercenaries seem to have saluted their leader as a king. Augustus Romulus opened the gates of Ravenna to Odoacer, who stripped him of the purple, but left him his life. He had an object in doing so. In order to avoid the appearance of a violent usurpation of the throne, he sent an embassy of the Roman senate to the Byzantine emperor, Zeno, which declared, in the name of Romulus, that "the West required no independent ruler, but that one sole monarch was sufficient for both empires; therefore the Senate had chosen the able statesman and brave warrior, Odoacer, as defender of the West, and begged that he be invested with the dignity of Patrician and the administration of Italy." Such was the humiliating exhibition with which this body, once the ruler

of nations, withdrew itself from the stage of history. The last Augustus was left to meditate on the mutability of all mundane affairs in the villa of Lucullus, with a yearly pension of 6000 solidi.

The Roman Empire belonged thereafter to the past, though its intellectual culture has become the corner-stone of a new world. At the beginning of our period, Rome was strong at home and feared abroad. German assaults had ceased; the Romans encroached on the Germanic peoples. Two things transformed its advance into retrogression—the worthlessness of its emperors, and the irruption of the Huns.



FIG. 95.—Gold coin of Romulus Augustulus. Inscribed D. N. ROMVLVS AGVSTVS P. F. AVG.

When the strange people of the steppes burst in upon the Germans, they were the means of working a fundamental revolution—namely, a reactionary movement into a stage through which the Germans had earlier passed. The Germans were now driven to give up their settled mode of living and to become once more wanderers; or, where settled habits were in course of formation, the germs of such were trodden out. The strongest bulwark of the Roman frontier was thus razed, and the Empire found itself face to face with elementary movements which it could not control. And this occurred at a time when the enervating atmosphere of the court supplanted the spirit and energy of the earlier Empire, when power and legitimate authority were not united.

From all sides the Germans pressed into the land, and that not as foragers or as simple peasants, but as warlike nationalities, who, sword in hand, were resolved and knew how to carve out distinct states for themselves. With this the last extremity was reached; the Empire fell to pieces. Though Aëtius sought to find an equivalent in the Huns, it was then too late. The Hunnish help worked like a two-edged sword, because behind it there stood not loose and isolated tribes like those of Germany, but a robber-nation conscious of its strength and confident of victory.

The fall of Rome appears almost as a logical necessity, and the natural outcome of centuries of development. As Rome weakened in strength, the sons of Germany began to install themselves as auxiliaries, until finally the burden of the state was transferred to their shoulders, and they became the actual, and, with Odoacer, the titular rulers. The struggle of Odoacer with Orestes was the last decisive conflict between Romans and Germans. The latter succeeded. The future belonged to the sons of the North.

BOOK II.

THE GERMAN STATES ON ROMAN
SOIL.

THE GERMAN STATES ON ROMAN SOIL.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

MISTRESS of the World, the Empire of the Caesars had fallen, and Rome—nerveless, debauched, perplexed, weary of continued existence—could look forward only with a hopeless feeling that the end of all things was close at hand. “The Roman world rolls on to its ruin,” exclaims a contemporary. “Of all that the Empire once possessed,” says another, “the name alone is left.”

At the head of the Empire stood the emperor, with the broad mass of his subjects at an unapproachable distance, the official world forming the link between them. Besides these, there were the army and the priesthood. In better times, the emperors had lived in constant intercourse with their people, had been familiar with their views and wishes, and been wont to traverse their Empire from one end to the other, sometimes as ministers of peace and order, often at the head of legions. This had all ceased. In place of the individual energy of the *Imperium*, there had come the deadening atmosphere of a court, and the obscurity of the remote palace. The ruler led a life apart and full of anxious fear. Men shunned speech in his presence; dumb adulation was, as it were, the air he breathed. Only from the lips of courtiers and officials, or through official documents, did he gain any knowledge of what was going on without. The direct voice of his people never reached his sacred ear. When it pleased him to show himself to the light of day he sat, softly-pillowed, in his litter or chariot, amid a glory of purple and gold, and environed by mercenary guards who would let none of his people approach his person.

The majority of the later emperors were men of little understanding and activity; but puffed up with a sort of indolent haughtiness, and

wearied with over-satiated lust. Their incomes were squandered in gorgeous court-festivities, gaming, and gifts to favorites. Even the better of them were affected by their surroundings, and were deceived and imposed on by their councillors. It was their destiny that no one left a secure successor, and that when one did force his way to the throne he could not maintain himself on it. The emperor was at once all-powerful and powerless. It cannot be matter for wonder that the reins of government slipped out of such hands, to be seized by those of the military commanders, so that beside the legitimate and nominal ruler, there was also an actual, though informal, authority, the consequences being disorder and insecurity, often contempt for, and revolt against, the *simulacrum* on the throne.

The officials in Ravenna—which Honorius had made the capital of the Empire in 404 A. D.—were such as might be expected from such a head. After the disorders of the Third Century, Diocletian and Constantine had reconstituted the whole scheme of government, substituting for the personal military headship of the sovereign an absolute monarchy, with a painfully elaborate bureaucratic system and a host of officials. There was thus gained arrangement and subdivision of work, with a separation between the civil and military services. But the enlargement of the *personnel* combined with the augmentation of the army necessitated increased expenditure—that is, increased taxes. The complicated machine, now left without a sure hand to control it, and with the very ground on which it rested beginning to shake, jarred and creaked on its rusty framework. The whole state-system became a piece of lifeless mechanism, held together only by long habits of obedience. The infinite variety of offices and grades of rank and honor fostered intrigue, simulation, cupidity, and lust for titles. The greatly overgoverned people became incapable of independent thought or action, and looked helplessly and submissively to their rulers for everything. The officials sought to enhance their influence, not through merit, but by pomp and show. The highest drew enormous salaries, and knew how to increase these by indirect means, and their example worked downward even to the slave of the meanest employé. Everything had its price; the courts of justice offered no protection; for, being dependent on the magistrates, they furthered their schemes of extortions, and became vehicles of oppression through the agency of the axe, the stake, and the rack. Many an innocent man, in despair, made the confession required of him; while many a favored criminal appeared before their bar with light heart. Unfortunate wretches sometimes died on their way to these tribunals, out of pure terror.

It is all but impossible to realize to what a depth of worthlessness had sunk the order of men that ought to have been the main support of the state-structure. A governor waiting for his appointment might be dogged at every step by his creditors; no sooner had he attained his office than he availed himself of it in every way to cancel his debts. Nothing was more desired than complaints against the rich, as affording pretext for the seizure of their properties. In short, administrators of all kinds utilized their positions for the most venal and illegal purposes. The evil rose at length to such a height that whole towns or districts purchased for themselves the protection of some commander—local or foreign—in order that, supported by him, they might bid defiance to the civil officials. Servility and adulation toward the powerful; pomp and tinsel show toward the public; arrogance and hard-hearted brutality toward inferiors: such were the characteristics of the confidential servants of the state. Quick change of rulers brought new men ever into office, and as rapidly cast them out. Their one object then was to utilize their offices to the utmost so long as they held them. The efforts and remonstrances of well-thinking men, even the best-designed edicts of the emperors, were unavailing. It was as if the very air was poisoned. Soon the uncared-for public demesnes, the state buildings sinking into decay, and the neglected highways, betrayed the ruin of the state.

Yet this absolutely worthless bureaucracy cost enormous sums. To this there had to be added the outlay for churches, the army, shows, postal services, roads and buildings, police and spies, and the sums swallowed by unfortunate wars, and, in peace, by the continuous payments of tribute under the name of gifts. The people were, in point of fact, no longer able to meet the expenses of the government. We have express information that the citizens were sometimes under the necessity of bringing their wives' ornaments and their household furnishings to the market in order to pay the imposts, while many voluntarily relieved themselves of their wretched existence through starvation. The exhausted, poor, and comparatively thinly scattered population simply could not pay the expenses of the administration any longer.

The people consisted of freemen, serfs, and slaves. The degrees of rank were manifold. The cities preponderated over the country. From beginning to end the Roman Empire was essentially a city-state. The relics of its greatness, the reflection of better times, the charms of a cosmopolitan culture still lingered in the cities. Here, a public spirit, ready for self-sacrifice, had been in active existence, and the imperial government had attached high value to splendid civic structures. State, community, and individual citizens had worked hand in hand with the same

aim. Even the less well-to-do exerted themselves, often above their means, for the beautifying of their native places. Private individuals and corporations were wont to vie with one another in the work of beautifying the cities. We cannot but admire the result of such munificence in the decayed ruins of to-day (Fig. 96). Libraries were founded, the

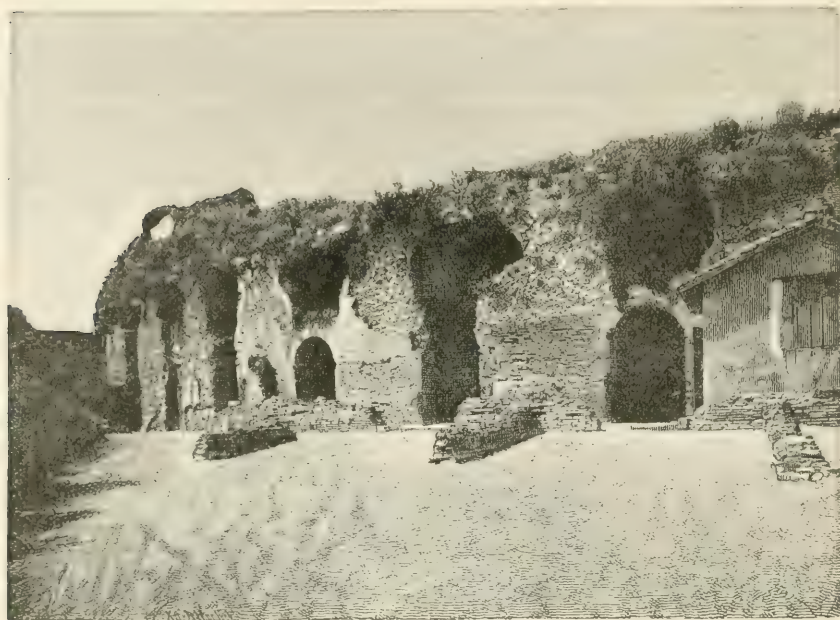


FIG. 96.—Ruins of the Baths of Titus in Rome. (From a photograph.)

streets paved and cared for, market-places established, etc. Inscriptions (Fig. 97) bearing the names of founders of public institutions were protected by law, and local patriotism cared for the numerous statues of public-spirited benefactors. Cleanliness was an almost universal luxury. Every village, even to far Lusitania, had, wherever possible, its public bath, which, with its associated refreshment-rooms, corresponded to our modern coffee-houses and other places for relaxation and enjoyment.

The forum, or market-place, constituted the heart of the city. This was covered by smooth pavement and adorned by the finest architectural structures. Main streets led from it to the city-gates. Those thoroughfares were generally narrow, and, except in the greater cities, commonly lined by houses of only one story. Some of the streets had shops; others none. In the smaller business streets, dealers exposed their wares, handicraftsmen in cap and leathern apron plied their callings, and barbers shaved their customers, half in the open air. The more fashionable

streets were noiseless, and almost no windows opened upon them. One walked through them as if between garden-walls, the apartments of the houses opening into an inner court. Few dogs were to be seen, and neither cat nor horse, for, except during the stiller hours of the day, riding and driving were forbidden. For this reason, travellers often passed through the cities by night.

Immediately outside the gates were the houses of the poorer classes, and, still farther out, there stretched sepulchres, gardens, and villas. The great liked to reside in the country, and their mansions were to be seen scattered everywhere, especially by river-banks, on uplands, and on mountain slopes. These buildings were generally square, with an inner court; sometimes they formed an oblong quadrangle, with the court on the out-

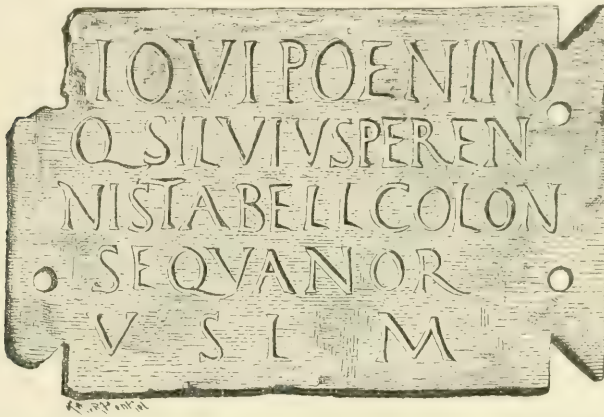


FIG. 97.—Roman inscription at Vesontio. IOVI POENINO Quintus SILVIVS PERENNIS TABELLarius COLONiae SEQVANORum Votum Solvit Libens Merito. (Rev. Archéol.)

side. In the Northern provinces the windows were generally filled with glass; this was less frequent in the South. Such houses were surrounded by parks and gardens adorned with artificially-trimmed trees, fountains, and statues.

Gregory of Tours has left us a description of a city of the period—that, namely, of Dijon in Burgundy. He says that it was a fortress with very strong walls and fertile, arable land belonging to it. From the north came a little stream that, flowing in through a gate, and thence under a bridge, and again flowing out of another gate, encircled the fortifications; on the outside of the town it drove mills with remarkable velocity; the four gates lay toward the four points of the compass. The fortifications had thirty-three towers; the wall was built of squared stones to the height of twenty feet, and above that it was of brick. In all, it was

thirty feet high and fifteen broad. Old people said that the town was built by the Emperor Aurelian. (Cf. Fig. 99.)

The inhabitants of the cities had often considerable landed possessions, and the order of Decurions was chosen from such of this class as owned twenty acres or more. These curiae had the management of municipal affairs. In earlier times, the position was an object of municipal ambition and eagerly sought after. In Cirta, in Roman Africa, for example, as much as 20,000 sesterces was paid into the city treasury for election as a decurion, and other similar outlays amounted not rarely to double this sum. The lists of the councillors were deter-

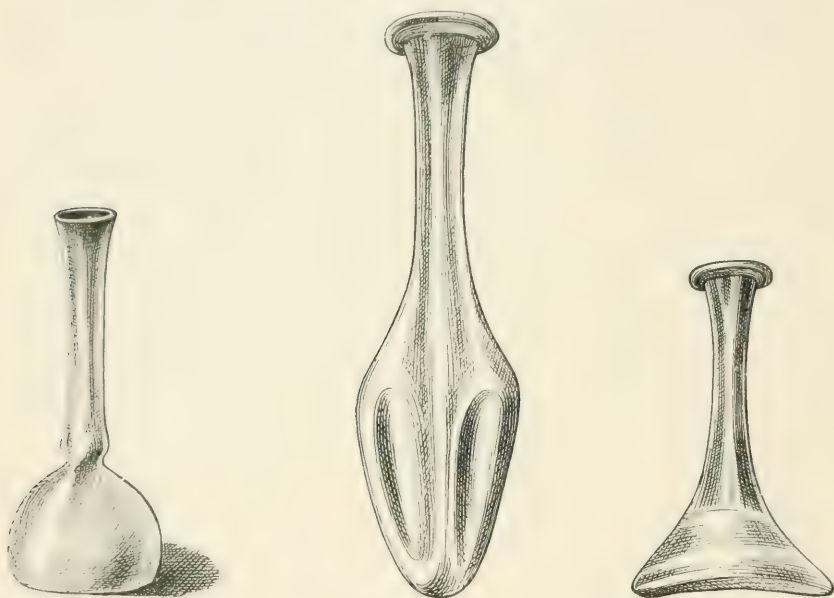


FIG. 98.—Roman glass bottles. Found in Ratisbon: $\frac{1}{2}$ original size. (Ratisbon.)

mined on every five years, and the city council enjoyed an almost independent activity. In the course of the Second Century, decadence began to manifest itself, in consequence of which the government was induced to nominate commissioners as boards of control. Having thus introduced the fine edge of the wedge, the state continued gradually to arrogate more authority to itself, at once depressing the city officials and enhancing their responsibility for the financial contributions of their communes. It became, at length, customary for them to be responsible with their whole property for the arbitrarily augmented taxes of their fellow-citizens. The office, formerly an object of ambition, be-

came now a source of terror. Every one concealed his financial status in order to evade being chosen as decurion, and, perhaps, as early as the Second Century, the number of the order had to be kept up compulsorily. Gradually the position became hereditary, and that not always only in the direct male line, but also in that of natural children, even of natural daughters when they married persons qualified to hold the office. At

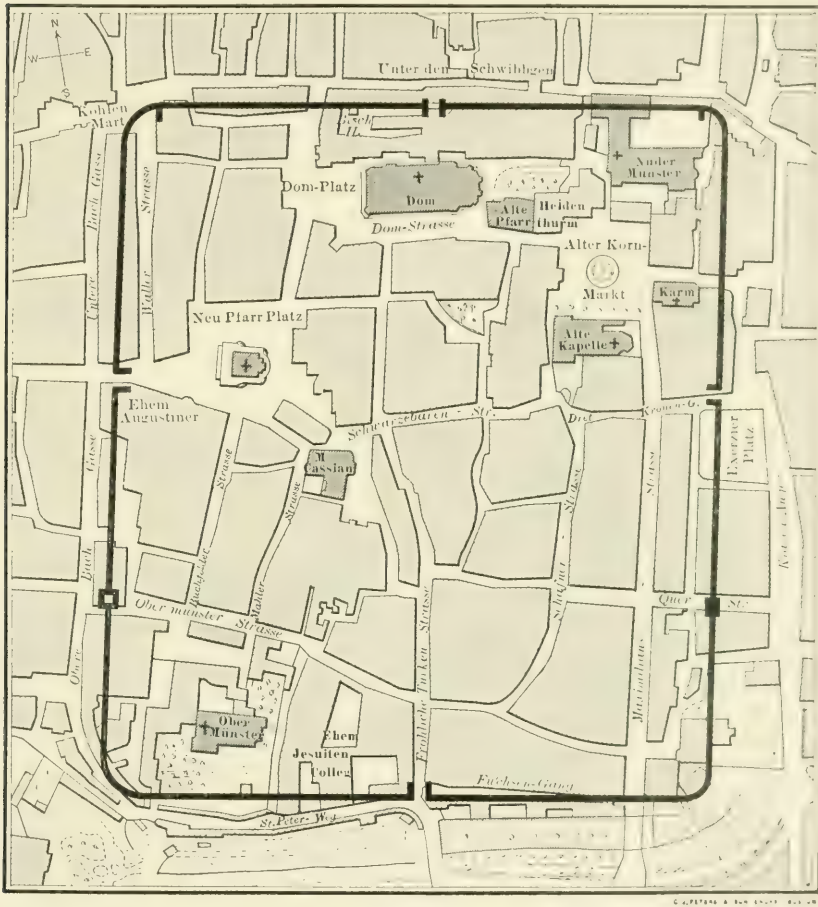


FIG. 99.—Roman Ratisbon (Lat. Regina Castra; German, Regensburg), with the Roman Wall, and the Modern City. (Arch. f. Anthropologie.)

length the curiae were employed as penal institutions for offenders. It came ultimately to an earnest struggle between the government and the persons liable to serve. The former strove to maintain the order up to its full number, and forbade decurions disposing of their properties with-

out the consent of the emperor. They, on the other hand, in despair, left their homes to seek refuge in the military service or that of the church or state; or they concluded a disqualifying marriage with a slave, or settled themselves in some secluded place at a distance. All was in vain. The government baffled their attempts at evasion and recalled them to the detested post.

It is easy to understand that such municipal councillors strove by fair means or foul to recoup themselves for the extortions of the government. Confiscations, bribery, embezzlement were all in the order of the day. "As many councillors, so many tyrants," says Salvian. The struggle between the community and curia sometimes culminated in tumults, stone-throwing, and incendiarism. Toward the close of the Fourth Century a special functionary was appointed to protect the people from the decurions, and these from the governor. Emperor Leo abolished the curiae in the much afflicted Spain, and established in their place the military rule of the Counts, who shortly came to play an important part.

So much for the privileged. The people proper of the cities—the traders and handicraftsmen—grouped themselves into corporations and guilds so as to find some protection in numbers. But the class of substantial free artisans decreased rapidly, for they could not cope with the slaves who supplied all the wants of the wealthy. Commerce, too, became torpid. The West imported incomparably more than it exported. From the practical impossibility of engaging in profitable undertakings, men hoarded gold, thus withdrawing it from circulation. Money became so scarce that the state had to take corn and other goods for taxes, and pay its officials with them. After a thousand years of civilization, men found themselves compelled to revert to the primitive economic condition of barter and payments in kind.

The existence of sporadic wealth is explained by the continued existence of the so-called senatorial families—*i. e.*, the higher classes of the municipal and official nobility, which, among other privileges, enjoyed exemption from the decurionate. Through offices, inheritances, and all sorts of business they acquired such wealth and power that many entered their retinue for protection. Besides these older houses, parvenus, also, came to the foreground—army-commissaries, great speculators in lands and houses, conscienceless officials, crafty favorites, and the like. According to Olympiodorus, the yearly income of a rich man might amount to \$1,000,000 or more, besides which he might possess 1000 or 2000 slaves, a dozen or more palaces, baths, etc. His houses were embellished with gilded roofs and folding doors of ivory, in the interior

with marble and gold plates, and mosaics and tables inlaid with gold and silver. He rode abroad in a gilded chariot (Fig. 100) or on a horse with gold-mounted trappings, clad in a silken, gold-embroidered robe, girdle, and shoes, and breathing of perfume and unguents. Slaves in gay-colored clothing surrounded him in thick crowds and kept the populace at a far distance.

But this wealth was far from being a protection. In the cities, treachery lurked around the millionaire, watching his every word and gesture. The state-treasurer liked nothing better than the denunciation of such a man that he might get the handling of his property. The informer expected not only his legal reward, but honors. In his very palace in the country, the rich man was far from secure, but was ever liable to be attacked by robbers and other desperate men and murdered for the plunder.

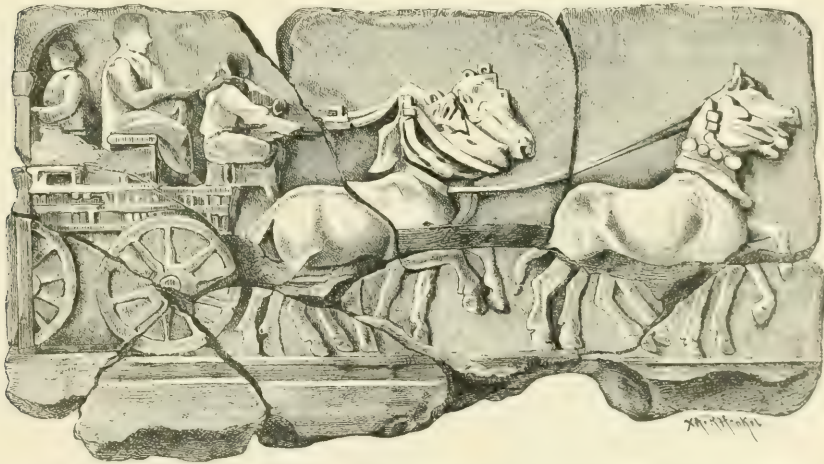


FIG. 100.—Bas-relief from Langres. Carriage drawn by four horses. (Rev. Archéol.)

In vivid contrast to the pomp of such individuals was the hopeless penury of the masses, who lounged about the streets and open places. The most wretched agricultural conditions, the growing want of profitable employment in the cities, increased their numbers from day to day. The streaming of the masses into the larger cities is eminently characteristic of the sinking state. Within two years after the capture of Rome by Alaric, the city-prefect of Milan (which had become the capital) wrote the emperor that 14,000 new citizens for whom there was no sufficient provision were registered by him in one day, and that at a time when the country around lay waste and treeless. The lesser communities and

husbandry suffered unspeakably. The poorest betook themselves to the centres of population to evade the rural poll-tax, and to escape, among the multitude, from the caprice and high-handed injustice of their superiors, as well as to share in the enjoyments which the policy of the government still provided for the great cities. The plundering incursions after the edict of Valentinian II., in 382, indicate distinctly the massing together of crowds of able-bodied, but lazy and worthless characters, who led a life of wretchedness, without sufficient shelter or nourishment. Their underground pest-holes, often low taverns, were the especial haunts of the most degraded—sharpers, thieves, unsexed women, emasculated procurers. This homeless mass was further reduced by the exaction of a small minority of money-lenders. The aggrandizement of the large cities was one of the main causes that hastened the national decay and ruin.

In the cultivated country-districts, matters were even worse. Besides the slaves, there were the landed proprietors and the landless. The greatest proprietor was the state. Originally the strength of the nation had rested on its small peasant-holdings. These people had now become impoverished through military services, requisitions, wars, taxes, and the diminished productiveness of the soil, so that their little holdings had mostly disappeared, and been swallowed up by the large estates, which often contained many square miles, and were cultivated either as a whole by slaves, or separately by *coloni* who held by perpetual leasehold. Slave labor was found unsatisfactory, and the estates became wide, depopulated grazing tracts. Africa had been, since the days of Carthage, a land of *latifundia*, many proprietors there having 20,000 slaves. Under Nero the half of the proconsular province was owned by six great proprietors; who thus held, each, some 3700 square miles. We get some idea of the magnificence of the residences of these African territorial magnates from the baths—about 3940 feet in circumference—attached to the villa of one Pompeianus, not far from Cirta, and of the Fourth or Fifth Century. In Europe, Italy first fell into the large estate-system (*latifundia*), so that ultimately only Lombardy and Campania were prosperous, and even here, wide stretches lay fallow or were covered with swamps. From Italy the system spread to other provinces, destroying their husbandry also. Almost everywhere the great landlords encroached on the peasant-proprietors, who were the less able to bear up against them that they were oppressed at the same time by the officials, who made but little allowance for the lessened productiveness and value of their farms. Like the artisans in the cities, the peasants also fell into debt, penury, and despair, the consequences being the springing up and spread of de-

pendent clients and *coloni*, and, ultimately, open revolts and an increased rush to the cities.

Necessity often drove the peasant to seek protection and aid from a mightier neighbor. Whoever had a lawsuit needed such to overawe the judge and his opponent; if his property was challenged, he made it nominally over to some great lord; if he wished help in money, there was none but him to apply to. The aid was generally granted, but only on condition that the peasant's little property should on his death fall wholly or in part to his patron. His children remained personally free, but were bound to the soil and subject to rent to the lord. Sometimes when a high official enjoyed, in virtue of his office, immunity from taxation, he conferred the same on his peasant dependents. In vain the law declared that the immunity extended only to the estate of the office-

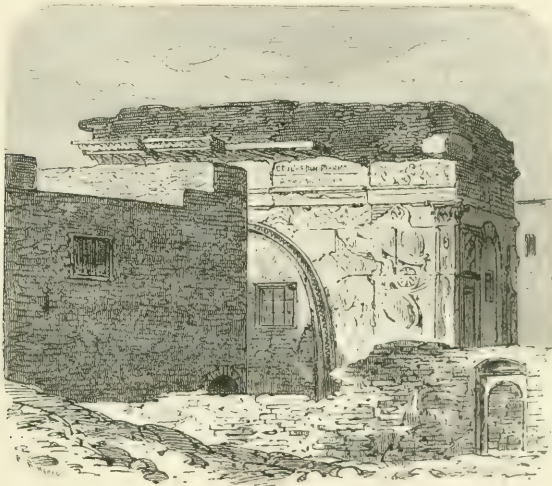


FIG. 101.—Ruins of a triumphal arch in Tripoli. (From Lyon.)

bearer, for now the peasants made over their acres to him, receiving back the usufruct thereof for a moderate rent, and became freed from the deadly burden of taxes. The “*coloni*ate” must have had its origin in some such evasion of the law, and then gradually have gained recognition as an accomplished fact. Since only the classes that paid taxes could maintain their rights in any way, the unpropertied were utterly dependent on the rich. As the power of the landlords increased, the *coloni* sank, till they were regarded as slaves, or rather were made such. “The *colonus*,” we read, “had to work like a beast and was frightfully lashed. When he was unable to pay, there came distraint, imprisonment, torture.” Even lower than this vassal-

class were the slaves, without rights of any kind, and numbering millions of human beings.

For the supervision of his subjects the lord often had a host of officials, nay, he even converted his menials into a sort of soldiery, which he augmented by recruiting, with the view of having a force adequate for the protection of himself and his property. Thus, out of his economic supremacy, there arose a political power that often made the territorial lord in all respects a prince.

The people thus fell into two sharply-distinguished classes—a propertied minority and a dependent majority consisting of plebeians, *coloni*, and slaves. With an arrogance inexpressibly overweening the magnates looked down on the classes beneath them, and imposed on them ever heavier imposts and burdens. Law afforded the latter no protection; for offences which the rich man could expiate by the most moderate penalty, involved death in the case of the poor man. For his wife there was no protection, and his family-life was ruined without compunction. The great pandered to every appetite. To many the conditions became intolerable, and the thought came: “Better an end with terror, than terror without end.” Toward the close of the Third Century the oppressed drew together in swarms, laid hold of the axe and sword, slaughtered their tyrants, laid waste the country, and ventured even to attack cities. Such risings were general over almost the whole Empire, but especially so in Gaul, Spain, and Africa. In Europe, these mutineers received the name of Bagaudae. In Africa, where provincial religious rivalries embittered class-hatred, the Donatists were the agents of destruction. Although the tumults were quelled by dint of military force, the causes remained, and many times became so intensified that the flames of sedition blazed forth anew till at length the decisive change came in the form of the new Germanic kingdoms.

Like a consuming disease the war of the Bagaudae ate into the vitals of the state. No one felt secure, and business was all but brought to a standstill. Misery reached its culminating point when, in addition to the Bagaudae, highway-robbers and wild beasts, the terrors were only increased by the bands of hostile Germans who traversed the land, leaving behind them little save burning houses and slaughtered corpses. Mothers strangled their own children and devoured their flesh. Neither at home nor abroad could the government afford protection to its citizens; least of all in the frontier districts.

The “Life of St. Severinus” gives a graphic description of the horrors of this period, especially in the outlying provinces. It carries us to Noricum on the Middle Danube in the latter half of the Fifth Cen-

tury. The boundary-wall was in ruins, its garrison dispersed, and command and pay were alike at an end. On the further bank dwelt the Germans—specifically the Rugii, then a considerable tribe. Thence they and their neighbor-tribes—Thuringians, Heruli, Alamanni, and Goths—sallied forth in uninterrupted forays. Soldiers were slaughtered on their way to Italy in quest of pay; peasants and cattle alike were seized in the fields and carried off; cities were surprised in the night, sometimes besieged for weeks; farm-houses and villages seem to have wholly disappeared. The times required that even the small places should be walled in and surrounded with watch-posts; scouts gave notice of the approach of danger. Here and there were to be found sparse relics of the soldiery, but too weak for effective defence, and, indeed, rather husbandmen than warriors. The Church offered almost the last point of cohesion and the last hope. It was the custom at the posts to sing a psalm on the oncoming of night, while St. Severinus wandered unweariedly and helped as he could. The cities on the Danube became gradually desolate; step by step the Roman element receded; the constant danger gave rise to constant migration from place to place, till the inhabitants found at last some peace by paying blackmail to the Rugii. Shortly they withdrew to Italy. So was it elsewhere. Neither in remote Spain nor in Africa did men live secure from hordes of barbarians, who came not merely to levy contributions, but to take permanent possession of land and houses, and, in fine, of everything.

All these things—the struggles for the throne and military revolts, official oppression and the burdens of war, the rush toward the great cities, the system of vast estates, the felling of forests, the conversion of streams into swamps, the filling up of harbors through neglect, plague and other epidemics, and the general decay—had depopulated the Empire incredibly. From almost every quarter there sounded the same wail. We hear of “the wastes of Illyria,” of the “deserts of Gaul,” of “cities buried in the gloom of the forests, and inhabited by wild beasts.” We read that in Vienne, in the southeast of France, deer and wolves entered the gates and roamed fearless through the streets. In Greece one might wander for days without meeting a human being. A third of Northern Africa lay waste (Fig. 101); wide expanses of Italy were overgrown with brush, and inhabited only by swine-herds. The gross population of the Empire had probably fallen to a third; that of the country districts not rarely to a fifth and less. Italy had only some five millions of inhabitants; Gaul, in place of twenty, from six to eight.

In order to make the measure full, to the social and economic evils were added those arising from the conflict of faiths. After a desperate

resistance heathendom had succumbed before the teaching of Christ, but in this faith itself divisions and strife had arisen. Particularly the Arians and Athanasians pursued each other with the bitterest hatred, and shook the whole Empire with the din of their conflict.

Whatever of life or brilliancy was left to the Empire was concentrated in the cities. With dogged attachment, men, in spite of their own dire necessities, clung to the cities, and, with the lavishness of old, provided for the maintenance and even for the amusement of the masses out of sheer dread.

Gaul, in spite of all its tribulations, had, in virtue of its inexhaustible



FIG. 102.—The amphitheatre at Nîmes. Arcade. (From Gaillhabaud.)

fertility, and the energy and intelligence of its people, stood the shock best of all. The ancient and honorable city of Massilia (Marseilles) still flourished, the traces of its Greek origin not having become entirely effaced even in German times. It was, however, surpassed by Narbo (Narbonne), now, as the seat of a proconsul, the most important Gallic seaport, and rich above others in works of art. Nemausus (Nîmes), too, continued to be celebrated, though having a comparatively small population (Fig. 102). Tolosa (Toulouse)—named, probably from its literary atmosphere, “the city of Pallas”—was, with its three suburbs, one of the most famed cities of the Empire. The busy Arelate (Arles), favorably situated on a bifurcation of the

Rhone, continued to grow and flourish for several centuries. A document of the year 418 reports it as an emporium for the wares of the East, Spain, and Africa. Ausonius¹ names it “the little Gallic Rome.” Under Honorius, Arles was the residence of the chief governor of the

¹ The *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* of Ausonius, written about 390, gives a metrical description of the twenty chief cities of the Empire, arranged in order of importance as follows: Rome, Constantinople, Carthage, Antioch, Alexandria, Treves, Mediolanum (Milan), Capua, Aquileia, Arelas (Arles), Hispalis, Corduba, Tarraco, Bracara, Athens, Catina, Syracuse, Tolosa, Narbo, and Burdigala. It is likely, however, that some cities of the East, as Caesarea in Cappadocia, were more populous and wealthy than some of those named by Ausonius.—ED.

Western province, and even in Frankish times the games of its Circus were reckoned of such importance that the presidency at these was specified as a sort of royal right appertaining to the king of the Franks. At no great distance lay Vienne, probably the first transalpine city which enjoyed the distinguished privilege of sending senators to the Roman curia. Her rival, Lugdunum (Lyons), had a brilliant past, having been the common capital for the whole of North and Middle Gaul, and the only city, besides Rome, that had a military police, in this case numbering 1200 men. Commerce, shipping, and manufactures had flourished there in fullest bloom. It was a royal residence, an administrative centre, and a nucleus of the chief highways. It had now sunk, especially since having been plundered by the troops of Septimius Severus. Toward the end of the Fourth Century it was no longer reckoned among the great cities. Lutetia (Paris) was as yet regarded as of little importance, yet it already possessed an amphitheatre and a spacious palace in which Julian assumed the purple. From the time of Clovis it was the royal residence. Durocortorum (Rheims), Aventicum (Avenches), Eliumberum (Auch), Arvernum (Clermont), and especially Burdigala (Bordeaux), are all also worthy of being named. The last, like Arles, attained real importance about the close of the Fourth Century. Its ample harbors resounded with the sounds of busy industry, and patient oxen toiled thither with their overladen wagons. The beautiful banks of the Garonne were crowned by many charming villas, their roofs peeping forth from among the green of the vineyards. So was it also with the valley of the Moselle with its brilliant city of Treves, whose Roman edifices to this day carry us back to the days of old.

Of the twelve hundred cities and towns which covered Gaul in the days of Vespasian important remains continued to exist—asylums, as it were, of ancient culture. Art, like the Empire, had become hoary and outworn. Her inner life, fancy, and creative faculty were dead, but the workmanlike manipulation of details in many cases remained. In Gaul, too, the metal industries flourished, as well as linen and woollen manufactures, pottery, enamelling, etc. Commerce was still active, and conveyed its wares by water, or on land, by a comprehensive and well-devised network of roads, to the most remote corners. The torpidity in art and literature was much more marked than in the case of industry and commerce. In the contemporary literature and art, we find tastelessness, debased ornamentation, and coarseness—at the best, a servile mimicry of classic models. Men no longer depended on intrinsic merit for effect, but on adventitious accessories—in plastic art, on size and material; in literature, on exag-

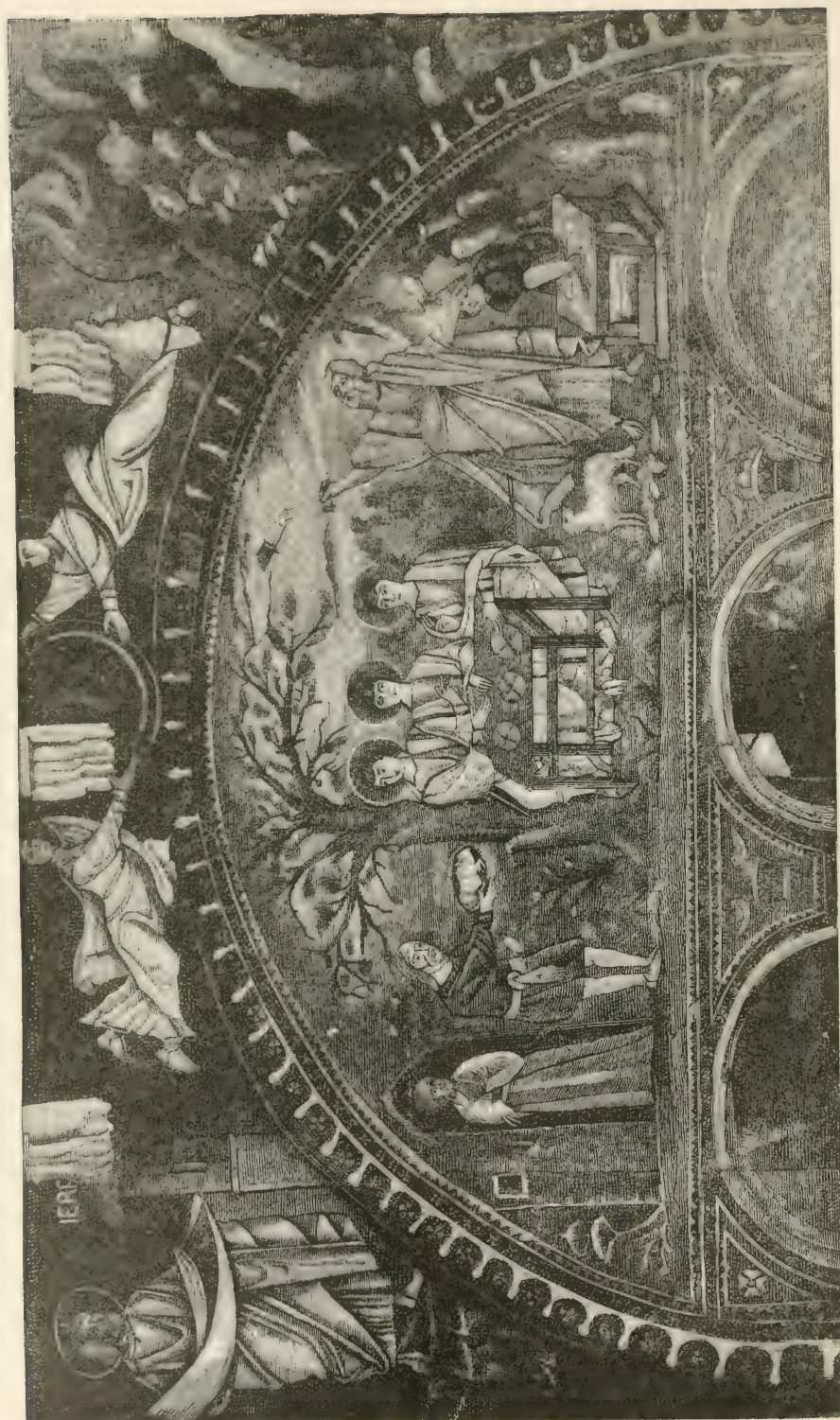


FIG. 103. — Mosaic in San Vitale at Ravenna. Abraham offering up Isaac. (From J. P. Richter.)

generation and rhetorical turgidity. Painting and mosaic (Fig. 103) were the arts specially affected. The latter became, in particular, the art of victorious Christianity, which displayed its figures of its saints, and its sacred stories, glaring with manifold colors, on all the available spaces of its churches, and with utter disregard of all architectural and pictorial pro-



FIG. 104.—Ancient bronze bust, with a lyre as ornament: found in 1858 at Périgueux. (Gaz. Archéol.)

prieties. Art was here subservient to the symbol. Of the joy of creation, or of the striving for the ideal, there was no conception in the business-like mind of the artist. This is noticeable in sculpture, too (Fig. 104). Thousands of sarcophagi (Fig. 105) were turned out, and incredibly unworkable stone was chiselled into shape with slavish patience, the preference being for reliefs suitable for painting. Architecture had likewise to accommodate itself to the ecclesiastical tendency. Broad surfaces



FIG. 105.—Ancient Christian Sarcophagus at Arles. (Gaz. Archéol.)

took the place of organic members, but the sense of grand and boldly employed interiors was preserved.

From the middle of the Third Century Gaul had been the main seat of Roman oratory, the teacher finding apt material in the national vivacity and nimbleness of tongue. But only certain formal qualities were reckoned of value—smoothness, floridness, fecundity, and pathos. It was the art of verbiage, and nothing more; and this was inculcated by grammarian and rhetorician with stick and leather strap. The true model of this empty rhetoric was offered by a form of composition, known as the *Cento*, a poem compiled from fragments of the verses of Virgil or other poets. The thing was to know the largest number of verses possible, so as, at least, to win a stray thought from them—as for the character of the thought, that was a secondary matter. Literature was like a forced and sickly hothouse plant; it did not spring out of the fullness of the heart nor react thereon. No one possessed an eye for the prodigious changes taking place around him, or had the ability to depict them. The poet sang rather the roast goose on the table, and the napkin on which his friend dried his hands. Ausonius, one of the most celebrated poets, lauded his father in a series of sentences, in praise of virtue, culled from the ancients, and carefully strung together, without once depicting his father, or showing their applicability to him. Men wrote each other endless letters, not to open their own heart to their friends nor to appeal to theirs, but to exhibit specimens of smoothly-polished literary workmanship. Such passed from hand to hand, round a circle of connoisseurs, who flattered the writers, to be flattered by them in turn. Plain historical narrative was incredibly neglected, and was replaced by lyric poetry and romance. The idyll, with an excessive delineation of nature, was especially affected. Genuine poetry, clear representation of contemporary events, and true erudition, could not thrive on such a soil. “In the bygone centuries,” says a writer of the time, “the Lord endowed the world with power and the gifts proper to true art; now the seed is parched and the sap dried up.”

The vigor of antique manhood had been sapped. Even vices had changed their guise, and the daring profligacy of earlier centuries had become transmuted into meaner forms. Avarice and miserliness—the vices of old men—were now the characteristics of an aged race. In vain had the emperors, since the days of Diocletian, endeavored to check the decay by coercive legislation, and by the institution of police, which was to preserve morality. The Neoplatonists and Christian clergy inculcated continence to no purpose. The spirit of the times and the social conditions foiled their best efforts. The degeneration of the race made

itself obvious in the outward appearance. The personal figure, at least among the higher classes, was often hideous, the features meagre. The portraits of the time show frames sometimes bloated, sometimes haggard, but always unhealthy; the countenances are expressionless, and have an unpleasant, gloomy, pinched look. According to a thought earlier expressed by Dio Chrysostom, as men lost, women gained, in beauty—a noteworthy fact often to be observed in degenerating or degenerate nationalities. It seems as if nature, striving for the conservation of the race, sought to compensate for the weakness of the men by the increased charms of the women; and where nature failed women had recourse to art. In place of the earlier flowing robes, the women now wore close-fitting garments with armlets, and supplemented the hair artificially, curling it, and intertwining with it showy ribbons. Paint was often laid on so thick that every tear left a furrow.

In short, the sources that lend man his nobler spiritual and physical features had dried up, and with beauty and freedom the ancient life had gone to the grave. State and society, industry and true art were, so to speak, petrified, and even agriculture had in many places fallen back into mere cattle-rearing. It would be rash to infer that all this implies the impossibility of a renewed life. The history of almost all nations shows a constant advance together with retrogression. Rome was sick, but not dead. Even now, there throbbed in many cities a spirit of vigor and enterprise. In the desolated regions of the Middle Danube we find grain-ships on the Inn, oil which had been imported from Italy, and provincial traders in the Rugian markets. Besides the vast estates, there were also small and middle-sized holdings. In some parts of the Empire the number of land-owners was greater than that of the immigrant Germans, and even the position occupied by slaves and *coloni* was not everywhere the same. These fared best on the state-domains, and in districts where, in virtue of their numbers, they were able to maintain certain rights and immunities. Now and again there intervened peaceful pauses, when industry recovered itself. Ausonius speaks of the well-to-do middle class, and says that the supply of labor was neither deficient nor superabundant. Aquitaine, Auvergne, the provinces of Spain and Africa found themselves still in a good condition. There and elsewhere the proprietors lived on their estates, and around their villas were the cottages of their vassal-peasantry. The Empire was still the only civilized state, the only state having a currency and official organization. Its armies were still mostly victorious on a regular field of battle. Literature, as we find it in such authors as Libanius and Symmachus, is in no wise to be regarded with contempt.

After all, the idea of the Roman Empire proved civic rather than national. Notwithstanding the assimilating effect of living for centuries under the same official system, the different races preserved their peculiar characteristics. The Gaul, the Italian, the Spaniard, the African showed each his distinctive traits. The robust inhabitant of Northern Gaul was marked off from his weaker, more Romanized southern brother, and the very pottery of Treves remained different from that of Rheims. Particularly in the later centuries, men of note came to the foreground, and the emperors repeatedly stripped off the bonds of court-life and bore themselves with the independence and warlike spirit of old. Already two revivifying influences—the one physical, the other spiritual—had begun to operate. These were the subject Germans and the Christian Church. The very decay of antique literature inaugurated a flourishing period for the Romano-Christian. Within the Empire, German energy sped the plough; abroad, it wielded the sword. By a peaceful progression of events the Western Empire would scarcely have fallen. Nature loves not death; but out of decomposition evolves the germs of new life. As late as the Fifth Century, Claudius Rutilius Numantianus still consoled Rome as one consoles a deeply-stricken mother, and held out to her the hope of a perpetual existence.

The Empire was in a state of decomposition, in a transition-stage, with all the afflictions, sorrows, and weaknesses appropriate to such a condition. Yet with all its citizens it did not go absolutely ill. The worst feature was the deep despondency and universal want of confidence, for no one knew what was in store for him; whether on the morrow he might not be in penury or a corpse. And before the state had time to gather new strength, or new hopes had time to ripen, the foe crowded in. Fresh masses of Germans kept pouring over the frontiers, sometimes almost invisibly advancing, at other times storming forward with violence. Rome had to face a double task; it needed diligence within and defence abroad; it broke down in trying to fulfil it. And yet the philosopher was right—the state perished, but Rome remained.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE GERMAN SETTLEMENTS.

THE fall of the West-Roman Empire is one of the most important events known to history. It was the ruin of a magnificent state-structure, the dissolution of a world-culture. Antiquity had become rotten, honeycombed, as it were, by influences from the Germanic tribes, and by Christianity. As it sunk helpless, these flourished in vigorous luxuriance. In the Fifth Century that was fulfilled which the Druids had predicted in the First Century, after the burning of the Capitol—that the lordship of the world was to pass to the people north of the Alps.

At first, there could scarcely have been a stronger contrast between the former and the new masters. The fundamental principle of the Roman commonwealth was state-sovereignty and the security of private property. The state was an elaborate artificial machine in the hands of the emperor. Nay, by a stricter interpretation of the constitution the soil itself belonged properly to him. He exercised that part of the legislative power, in which common law was involved, quite independently of the occupants of the land.

Among the Germans, however, the idea of personal property in land was still undeveloped; ownership lay rather with village- and kin-communities; nor had they attained to the conception of imperialism and bureaucracy. The king was raised to his post by the people; he held his authority through and in them, and he had to exercise it in accordance with their wishes. The people—the main body of freemen—held the chief power; they chose the civil officials. In the course of their constant wars and wanderings, monarchy continued to grow in power, since vicissitudes and dangers called for a single will and individual leadership. Thus personal connection with the king began to confer rank and pre-eminence. His following, who at first waited on him only for defence and show, so gained in importance that the old tribal nobility waned before it or blended with it. All this obviously reacted on the people and their powers. Yet this body still maintained itself, for the army was nothing else than the freemen in arms. Again and again it enforced its will in opposition to that of the king, who did not possess the right of coining money or of taxation, but depended entirely on free gifts and

fines; neither had he authority to publish any edicts save orders in time of war. The law was not inherent in the soil, but in the people, that is, it was not territorial but tribal law.

The industrial and social life of Rome and of Germany offered still stronger contrasts. The Romans were a civilized people,¹ even though their dotage seemed sometimes to make them akin to the Germanic tribes, who were still in their infancy. The centre of Roman life lay in the cities, that of the Germans in the country. The latter were simply a



FIG. 106.—Roman bronze mask. Width, 5½ in.; height, 4 in. Found in 1841 in the churchyard at Weissenburg. (Augsburg.)

race of peasants and warriors, often full of great self-confidence, but marked by little national feeling. They knew no estate-system, coloniate or proletariat. Their restless life did not allow private property to come into existence. In other words, they had no sharply-defined classes. Thus, the homogeneous Germans were brought into contact with a society of aristocratic magnates and down-trodden proletarians.

The strongest contrast, however, was the moral one, in reference to the relation of man to woman. On the one side, we find dissolute conditions, the outgrowth of an overripe civilization; on the other, a somewhat Philistine state, chaste and fruitful marriages, bodies made hardy by toil and exposure. Many Germans were still heathens, others had become Arians, whereby they came into collision with the Catholicism

¹ Examples of Roman art of this period are seen in Figs. 106 and 107.

of Rome. Literature and art had no existence among them; a boorish delight in gaudy, variegated colors took the place of the Roman craving for art. If the creative faculty of the Romans was maimed, that of the Germans had not yet awakened; while their impulse to action, on the other hand, was in full vigor.

The Germans came undoubtedly to conquer. It might, therefore,

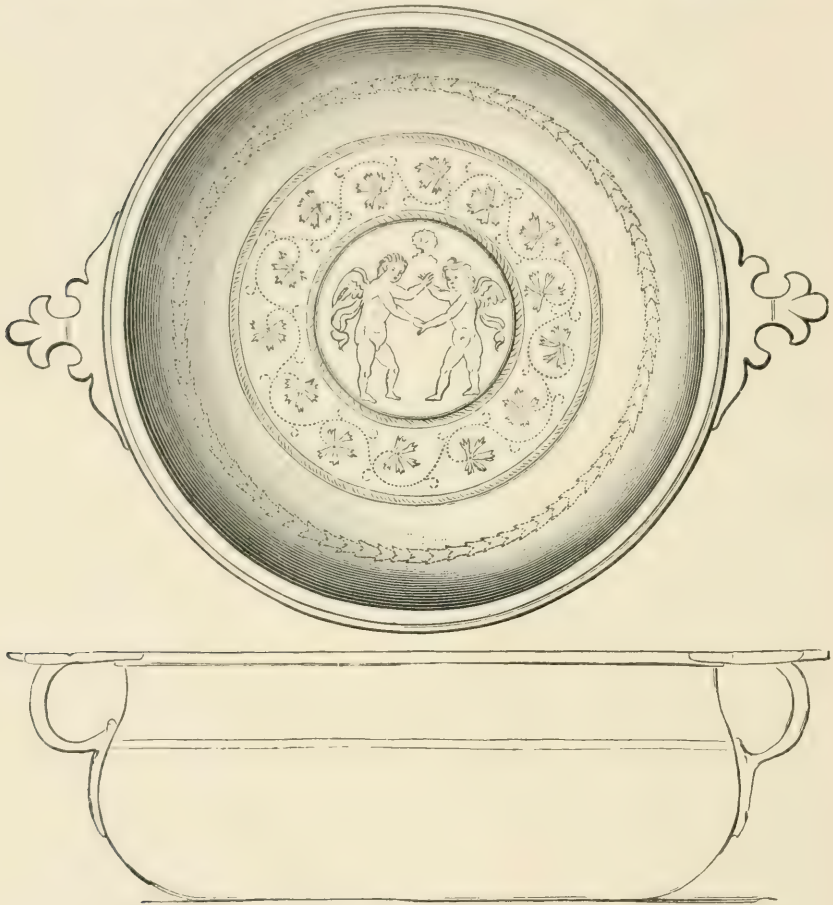


FIG. 107.—Roman bronze bowl. Width, 7.8 in.; height, 2.5 in. Discovered, in 1867, at Torfstich, in Burgau. (Augsburg.)

naturally be inferred that their settlements were the cause of the most violent convulsions in the interior of the Empire. The case was almost precisely the reverse, and for the following reasons. The Roman lands were depopulated, and the Germans were relatively few in numbers, so that the soil easily afforded support for both. Landed property was alto-

gether in the hands of the rich, so that wherever the Germans settled they came in contact with but few possessors, for whom they could easily leave enough to satisfy needs. The settlements were, as a rule, made without violence, and in accordance with terms arranged with the state, whereby that regard for foreign law, always characteristic of the Germans, steered them clear of the worst complications. The mass of the provincials, without property or rights, had long lost all pride in the name of Romans. To them it was a matter of indifference who held the sway, and they hailed with joy the new comers that made their condition more tolerable. The conditions were, therefore, all favorable for the change.

The privileged class were the only persons interested in maintaining the present order of things, but the means of maintaining it—the army and skill to lead it—were denied them. The rich endeavored through orgies to close their eyes against destiny. While the enemy were pouring in through the city gates, the rich were rioting in drunken carousals and in wanton dalliance; and the populace were cheering the gladiators that slaughtered each other in the amphitheatre (Fig. 108). Rarely did any one strike a brave blow for the ancient Empire. The nobles of Tarragona strove to check the Visigoths; two brothers of rank summoned their *coloni* and guarded the passes of the Pyrenees against the onstorming Vandals; Auvergne defended itself gallantly against King Euric.

It was not so much the settlements and the extension of German sway that worked havoc with the Romans, as the evil times that preceded these—those frightful days of rapine and universal war. Yet that those affected felt keenly the encroachment on their rights needs no proof. "Wait only," called a Roman to a Burgundian courtier before a tribunal: "wait and see whether a new stranger does not come and, under conditions you now little dream of, seize your property and rights for his own." There were, no doubt, many individual cases of violence, but some, also, of compensating generosity. Paullinus, for example, was stripped so bare of all his rich possessions that he was reduced to the brink of penury. A Goth of his own free will sent him the market-price of a property that, as it seems unknown to himself, was regarded as his. A charming trait of respect for law in an iron time!

Although we hear of mutinies, nay, even of treason on the part of German magnates, we nowhere read of revolts of the Romance nations, and in due time the wars of the Bagaudæ ceased. When Justinian's troops overthrew the kingdom of the Vandals, the Africans, though brothers in creed, and by no means in love with Vandal rule, lent the

former no help. People often longed for the Germans; the desire for their rule seems to have been well nigh unanimous. Salvianus says: "Among the moral barbarians we are immoral; nay, they are corrupted by our vices." Even the zealot Orosius, who, as a rule, recognized in the conquests of the barbarians the judgments of God, declared that the new order of things promised to be a boon. The Goths, who had again exchanged the sword for the plough, lived with the Romans as friends and associates. Isidore of Seville reports: "The



FIG. 108.—Gladiator. Rome, Capitol. (From a photograph.)

Romans who live in the kingdom of the Goths love them so much, that they prefer living in poverty under them, to being men of position among their own countrymen, bearing the heavy burden of taxes." Of the lands on the Danube, St. Jerome reports that "the tears were dried up, and that the younger generation felt themselves well under the new sovereignty, while the older people, out of prejudice, wistfully recalled the former days." This and other testimonies are all the worthier of note as they come from the friends of Romans and from Catholics, that is, from men who were doubly the enemies of the Germans.

St. Jerome saw the hand of God in the conquest of Rome, and believed that the extermination of the human race was to follow. St. Augustine,

on the other hand, saw therein merely a change for the better. Orosius recognized the conversion of the Germans to the Christian faith as the end of their invasion.

But discordant notes are also to be clearly heard, especially with reference to the Vandals. Salvianus reports that "Romans who wander into a German kingdom regard themselves as prisoners." The immoderation of the Germans in eating and drinking was a subject of ridicule to the Romans, a poet complaining that their clamor over their carousals scared away the Muses. Sidonius puts Germans and slaves on a like footing, and writes to a friend: "You evade such barbarians as are said to be bad; I, however, avoid even those of them that pass for good." In these words we recognize the beggarly pride of fallen greatness.

The wounds of the Empire gradually healed. The Germans brought with them a communal spirit, order, a sense of justice, and a lightening of burdens. Their inherent morality conferred on the life of the state features of strictness and purity, to which the Romans had long been strangers. Very significant is the remark of Paulus Diaconus: "And this was indeed wonderful in the kingdom of the Langobardi; no act of violence was perpetrated, no secret plots were laid, no man was unrighteously driven to forced labor, no one plundered; theft and robbery were unknown, every man could live as it pleased him, with no one to make him afraid."

In order to understand the system of colonization of the Germans, we must have some conception of their nomadic life and their mode of coming into the country. The people did not desert their home-land in entire tribes; even the whole population of more limited districts did not migrate at once, so as to leave their seats depopulated to their successors. The inhabitants of the individual districts were related among themselves in various degrees of closeness; in none was the relationship so close but that a part could branch off, either on decree of the tribe, or on other grounds. In all their migrations a portion of the people was wont to remain at home for the defence of their hereditary soil. This is clearly seen in the case of the Langobardi, who not only left sections in their native seats on the left bank of the Lower Elbe, but also at stations along their route; and when they finally set out to make conquests in Italy, their friends and allies, the Avars, bound themselves to hold for two hundred years the abodes in Pannonia, then occupied by them, open for their possible return. According to Procopius, portions of the Vandals were in their original Silesian home when others had already subjugated Africa. These latter maintained their right to their old lands, and refused to yield their claim, even when those remaining behind sent an embassy to King

Genseric to beg them to do so. This affords an excellent example both of Germanic conservatism, in clinging to hereditary possessions, and of the love of roving and adventure, so characteristic of the German peoples.

The people of individual districts broke away in spite of the unifying popular assembly, and wandered forth, sometimes to appear in a remote region under a new name. A whole people, indeed, could scarcely move at once, owing to the difficulty of finding adequate provision for man and cattle. Some sections, therefore, moved in advance, others came behind. Except in the case of the immediate followers of the leader, the bands were generally ordered according to their ancient hundreds. On great emergencies the wanderers called on the brethren remaining behind, or on friendly tribes, for help, whereby sections of various tribes sometimes coalesced into one great mass, and spread terror far and wide. Thus, when the Langobardi of Pannonia were laying their plans against Italy, they reinforced themselves, on one hand, with bands of adventure-loving neighbors; on the other, they drew Saxons from their ancestral home, north-east of the Harz, and yet they had left the banks of the Elbe more than two hundred years before. In the great attack on Gaul (406-7), Vandals, Alans, Suevi, and men of other tribes were found associated, though settled originally hundreds of miles apart from each other. To such coalitions wide dispersions correspond. Thus we find Saxons in England, Northern and Western France, and even Italy; Baltic Goths on the Volga, and at the pillars of Hercules; Suevi, in Southwest Germany, Moravia, Flanders, in the Harz Mountains, in France, Italy, and Spain.

Nothing could be more erroneous than to associate these wonderful surges of humanity only with violence; in fact they were not made up of robbers and mere adventurers, but of peoples in search of land. The sword was only a means to an end. As soon as they found what they sought, the sword was turned into the plough. Besides the sword, accident, personal and tribal relations, alliances, and views of justice had often effective influence. The old king of the Langobardi, Wacho, who probably was settled in Bohemia, was related by marriage with the kings of the Thuringians, the Gepidae, Heruli, and Franks, an ally of the Emperor Justinian, and strong in influence in the lands of the North-German Warns. After the Burgundians had lived long on the banks of the Rhone, it was provided in the book of their law (501) that those belonging to the tribe who immigrated at a later period should receive a half share of the land. We see here again how neither distance in space nor in time annulled the connection and claim of the individual, and that the tribal bond was not conditioned on living in

community. On the other hand, new groups were constituted by alliances and common expeditions and dangers, or individual septs were incorporated into greater bodies, as some septs of the Alans and Suevi into the tribe of the Vandals, and of the Gepidae, Norici, Saxons, Suevi, etc., into that of the Langobardi.

Immigration-movements proper had little in common with transient raids for booty, though these, too, might lead to settlements or alliances. The migrations themselves were of a different character according as they were made through the sparsely-settled, poorly-cultivated regions of East and Middle Europe, or the cultivated expanses of the Roman Empire; or, as they were the slow advances of great masses with cattle and families from resting-place to resting-place, or the swift sweep of men through wide distances. In the former of the last-mentioned cases obtaining a livelihood was the object; in the latter, war. The immigration, for example, of the Burgundians into Savoy and of the Franks into Northern Gaul were entirely different from the Vandal onslaught. Somewhat intermediate was the manner of movement of the Goths.

The description of the flight of the Visigoths before the Huns until they encamped on the Danube, presents a picture of a movement on a great scale. The Goths were arranged according to tribes and kinsfolk, with their priests and sacred objects. To carry their stores they had little two-wheeled carts, and on the plains, four-wheeled wagons. At nightfall the wagons were formed into a circle, as a defence against enemies and wild beasts. The Ostrogoths, whom Theodoric led into Italy, were impoverished in the course of their long pilgrimage. While the husband rode on one nag, another horse drew a cart packed with women, children, and goods, while oxen dragged the implements of husbandry and the hand-mills. The women cooked and patched, the men followed the chase and went on raids. When the cold of winter came, hair and beard were stiff with ice, and the way had to be won and nourishment purchased by blood.

From all the conditions of these movements, especially from the facts that the whole tribe never moved at once, and that the districts left were generally of no great extent and poorly cultivated, we infer that the numbers in each expedition were by no means great, and that the reports of Roman writers were, in this respect, grossly exaggerated. Of the Langobardi we know with tolerable certainty that they originally possessed Bardengau on the Lower Elbe, and probably also Drawin and Loingo—a district of small extent and by no means fertile, that could not possibly have nourished a numerous people. If we deduct the sections left in their original home, in Westphalia, and in other

resting-places by the Langobardi, and those who fell away in the course of their wanderings and conflicts, we cannot estimate the number who entered Italy at more than 50,000 or 60,000 souls, to which we must add an equal, or a somewhat greater, number of confederates. Tacitus, in his *Germania*, says the smallness of their number did honor to the Langobardi. We possess a definite statement regarding the auxiliary Saxons, which gives them as 20,000 men, with wives and children. More probably the number was 20,000, all told. The most accurate record is that regarding the Vandals. They and their allies numbered, on their landing in Africa, 80,000. The Visigoths, under Athaulf, have been put down at 300,000, with 50,000 fighting men. A tradition, unfortunately not entirely trustworthy, makes 80,000 Burgundians come to the Rhine. However unsatisfactory all this may sound, it is at least clear that the number of immigrants was insignificant in comparison with that the Romans. Thus, even if we allow 200,000 to the Langobardi—may, stretch their tale to 300,000—they encountered at least 5,000,000 Italians, while the 80,000 Vandals conquered a region stretching from Tripolis to the Straits of Gibraltar. It might well be, then, as tradition reports, that in whole provinces not a single Vandal was to be found. It was much the same with the Ostrogoths in South Italy, who had only troops enough to garrison Naples, Palermo, and Syracuse, leaving all else entirely to the provincials. Consequently, the meagreness of the traces left by the conquerors is not strange, especially when we consider furthermore the fascination which the Romance civilization exercised on the invaders. On the other hand, the strongest evidences of the German influence in intermixture are to be found in Northern France. Here Rome had by no means fixed herself securely, and the country was especially depopulated, while the Franks entered slowly indeed, but well consolidated. The German type largely impressed itself also on the Alpine declivities toward Italy, especially among the nobility, and, here and there, one finds flaxen hair and blue eyes as far south as Salerno.

There were three ways in which settlements might be effected—by simple conquest; by agreement with the emperor; and by way of compensation to mercenary troops. The first was the mode in Africa, wherefore the Vandals did not recognize the Romans as having any further right to the soil. Their settlement was immediately consequent on the conquest of Carthage, where the most of the landed magnates lived in splendor and luxury. On the capture of this capital these fell into the hands of the Vandals, who either slew them, drove them forth, or made slaves of them, thereby acquiring enormous tracts of land, which were further aggrandized by confiscations, especially of the church-lands. All

was divided, tax-free, among the conquerors and their king, and in such a way that the flower of the tribe was settled around Carthage, in proximity to the court and in readiness for any warlike emergency. The remote estates were parcelled out to *coloni*, or left in the hands of their former owners burdened with heavy imposts. The slaves and *coloni* were taken over, as well as their former masters, who mostly lived free but poor.

The same was the case with the settlements of the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes in England, and with the invaders of Noricum. The settlements in England happened at a time when the Roman sway there was already at an end, which, indeed, had never had vital existence save in the cities, the Celtic Britons having maintained themselves stubbornly in the rural districts. As the Anglo-Saxon immigrants were at first but few in number, the natives probably treated them as they had the Roman troops by giving up to them a portion of the land. Then the bloody wars broke out wherein the original inhabitants were driven back toward the west and southwest, their former lands falling to their victors, who set about a regular partition of the country with a view of conferring full right of ownership. Such of the Celts as remained were reduced to serfdom.

The settlement of the Langobardi should also be treated here, but our information regarding it is extremely meagre. According to one explanation, the Langobard became sole proprietor of whatever piece of land he was settled on, the former owner sinking into a mere *colonus*, and paying over one-third of the produce. According to what seems to be a better-founded opinion the allocation was made in a form we shall learn to appreciate better in Gaul. The Roman landowner had a soldier assigned as a partner to whom, at first, he paid a third of his income, then, under king Authari, a third of his whole property. In the eye of the law no difference seems to have been made between Romans and Germans.

Despoilment, pure and simple, was the rule in Noricum. After the adjoining barbarians—Rugii and Alamanni—had by their unceasing forays from across the Danube driven the decimated provincials to despair, the latter received an order from Odoacer to leave the land and come to Italy. They took their departure with all speed, in order to anticipate any aggressive designs of the Germans. Their most precious objects—among them the bones of St. Severinus—the emigrants took with them to the South, where they obtained lots of land in various districts. Noricum now lay open for occupation by the first comers.

The fullest information has been preserved for us regarding the settling of the Burgundians. This seems to have been effected with the consent of the emperor and according to the quartering system of the

Empire. According to this the owner of a house was bound to make over a third of it to the soldier quartered upon him, half as much to a higher officer. Host and guest were each termed *hospes*. Both the Burgundians and Visigoths—who could be made of good account for the Empire—were quartered on the Roman proprietors as *hospites*. But as the Germans had come to stay, and an enduring guest-relationship was as little agreeable to them as to the Romans, it was commuted for actual ownership. The strangers received at first a half of the immovables, which about the year 500, when the Burgundians attained their greatest expansion, was raised to two-thirds of the arable land and one-third of the Roman slaves; while as to forest and meadow-land, garden and vineyard, the proportion continued to be the half. At first the division was gradually made. Forests and meadow-lands were long held in common. On the other hand, the Germans must at an early period have desired separate dwelling-places. The change was the less oppressive in that it put a stop to the supplying of them with provisions, and in that only people of senatorial rank and the rich were affected. Imperial and German officials were kept busy. The possession of single parcels of land was probably decided by lot, the greater properties being parcelled out among several persons, law, in this case, favoring the clear discrimination of each one's share. Wide estates must have fallen to the king, including probably the former imperial domain. The same system held good in the case of the Visigoths. In Italy, on the other hand, Odoacer's troops were content with a third of the house by way of quarters, which became converted into a third of the host's whole property.

When the Ostrogothic mercenaries came to Italy, they found an old Roman and a German population. To the latter they were conquerors; to the Romans, restorers of a legitimate authority. In harmony with this, they claimed at first only the thirds belonging to the partisans of Odoacer, but as they were very numerous, these did not suffice, and consequently the partition extended to the lands of such Romans as had suffered comparatively little, but always in such a way that the main mass of Goths was grouped about Ravenna—in the Romagna, Lombardy, and Venetia. The details of their settling were cared for by a commission named by the king, at whose head stood an eminent Roman, Liberius, who undoubtedly performed his office with due regard to the interests of the Italians. The very considerable crown-domains were called the *patrimonium*.

Even at the beginning of the Fifth Century, the land of the Franks was no longer reckoned as part of the Empire. They had held fast to the principles of the Germanic law and state, and developed it in ac-

cordance with the conditions of the Roman soil, thus laying a sure foundation for their rule. Property in land, gradually developed from the common ownership of the kin, was the condition essential to communal rights. From their seats on the Scheldt there had been no collective migration deeper into Gaul. The king and his followers settled on the lands they conquered, and there was accordingly no occasion for a special partition of the land among the tribe. Probably only the public ownerless tracts (and these must have been of great extent) fell to the king, who conferred grants of them on his people. Perhaps a good deal of the kingly power, which was peculiarly strong among the Franks, was directly due to these royal grants.

In the lands of the Burgundians, Visigoths, and Ostrogoths, the German kingship does not seem to have been paramount at first, for the emperor continued to maintain a sort of civil and territorial overlordship, which, however, he rarely exercised. The power of the emperor was rapidly decaying, while the German kings were rising correspondingly. Imperial officials gradually disappeared, till finally the only duty of the mighty vassal-princes was the defence of the Empire, which was more a matter of free-will than obedience.

When the Western Empire finally collapsed, the German rulers regarded their obligations as at an end, and themselves as sovereign. This appears very prominently in their native authors; even Procopius characterizes the Burgundians, Franks, Thuringians, and Alamanni as peoples that were free from time out of mind. Very different were the views of the Byzantine emperors. They felt themselves to be the rightful successors of their Western brothers, wanting, indeed, in power to vindicate their rights, and tolerating the Germans only as long as they had to. In particular, they urged their claim most openly in the imperial land proper—Italy. Here Odoacer ruled as imperial patrician, and Theodoric as imperial viceroy, and Justinian wrote to the Frankish princes: "The Goths have seized Italy, our property, by violence and refuse to restore it." His ambassador, Peter, spoke in the same strain to King Theodohad. Yet, though masters of Rome, not one of the Italian kings took the title of emperor; on the contrary, the Ostrogothic sovereigns at least, as they appear to have appointed patricians and senators, really exercised imperial functions. Farther west, too, we see the jealous Byzantines active and reincorporating Africa and South Spain with their Empire. The Frankish King Clovis had Anastasius invest him with the consulate, and solemnly assumed the purple mantle and diadem in the church of St. Martin of Tours. Justinian confirmed the Franks in their Southern conquests, for, adds

Procopius, they felt their possession secure only under the emperor's hand and seal. The Burgundian king, Sigismund (516-523), had, already, as a prince, had the patriciate conferred upon himself, and, as an independent sovereign, wrote to Byzantium: "My people are yours. To me it is more gratifying to be your subject, than king of my own people. It is only the effusion of reverence that causes that renown conferred on us by your Highness, through the title of your service, to appear to us the highest of all. To all my predecessors, that for which they were indebted to the favor of the emperor, lay nearer their heart than that inherited from their father. Although we rule our people, we yet believe them to be nothing but your servants." Servile souls have ever existed among the Germans, and in this case policy also seems to have lent its influence. Odoacer, the Ostrogoth Theodoric, all the Langobard kings after Authari, and the Visigothic after Reccared bore the cognomen "Flavius," the family name of Vespasian, that had once graced also the Emperor Constantine, and after him, the Byzantine sovereigns. For the whole relationship between these rulers, a passage in Procopius is significant, where he says that no king, but only the emperor, had the privilege of coining gold money. Strange as this seems, it is, on the whole, correct, though it should be borne in mind that the barbarians brought no coinage of their own with them, and consequently, from old usage, had a preference for the only money approved in traffic—viz., the imperial coinage. Besides this there was a law, thus tersely formulated by Theodosius the Great: "Gold shall not be given to barbarians, and when met with among them must be dexterously taken from them."

In earlier times only the kings of the Ostrogoths, probably Theodoric, in particular, coined gold money. On the obverse was the head of the emperor; on the reverse was a little monogram of the king or of a city ruled by him (Fig. 109). Although the Frank, Theudebert I. (535-548), was the first that we know certainly to have struck gold-pieces with his own image (Figs. 110, 111), Avitus reports of Alaric II., the Visigoth, that in his need (508 and 509) he debased the standard of the gold coinage.



FIG. 109. — Silver coin of Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, with the head of the emperor Justin I. The monogram is that of THEODORICVS. (Berlin.)

Silver and copper money were coined in all the Germanic kingdoms, but with very various impressions, the most distinctively original being those of the Vandals and Franks. The coins of both show on the obverse the bust of the king with the imperial *paludamentum* and diadem, and turned toward the right. Occasionally on Frankish pieces the figure was in full face, with lance over the shoulder

and the shield in the left hand. Even the imperial globe appears. On some coins, the figure and superscription of the emperor, or other marks, indicate authority received from Byzantium. The Ostrogothic pieces show on the obverse the bust and name of the emperor, while the reverse



FIG. 110.—Coin of Theudebert I. (A. D. 539). Obverse: head of the king, with a lance. Inscribed: DN THEODEBERTVS VICTOR. Reverse: the archangel with cross and symbol of the Empire: inscribed VICTORIA AYCC. In the exergue, CONOB, an abbreviation indicating, probably, authority conferred by the Byzantine emperor. In the field a star, with BO (Bononia, or, more likely, a mint in Gaul).



FIG. 111.—Coin of Theudebert. Inscribed: DN THYODIBERTVS. Here the king carries the imperial globe, instead of the lance. Reverse: the archangel: inscribed VICTORIA CCC and O VICTORI. There is no CONOB on this coin.

always indicates the king. The coinage of the Visigoths is the least original of all. Up to the time of Leovigild (567-586) they struck plain copper money without any distinctive marks. Even the oldest pieces of this king are slavish imitations of Byzantine models. Of Odoacer we possess only a few pieces of his later, more independent, time (Fig. 112). Ricimer was so powerful that he put his monogram on the reverse of the imperial coins. On the whole it is clear that in Italy a formal over-lordship of the Byzantine sovereignty was acknowledged, while further west this shrank into an ideal pre-eminence in rank, which was allowed to appear sometimes more and sometimes less prominently, according to circumstances, till this, too, was discarded and the German asserted his full equality with the Roman.

At first the two peoples lived side by side, each with its own laws and customs. Neither could make its influence predominant, while the nature of the sporadic settlements forbade the development of the old-time race-characteristics, until at last the elements blended, and new states and new peoples arose under the sceptre of German kings. The Germans, rejoicing in the lusty strength of youth, were the masters; but they were in the minority, and were foreigners, with no sense of national unity to fall back on. The Romans, on the contrary, dwelt in their ancestral lands, heirs of an ancient civilization with its mighty achievements. Everywhere the Germans assumed full citizenship, while the position of the

Romans in this respect was various. With the exception of some of the African landowners, they remained free and continued to live under their own law, so that, in this respect, they were sharply differentiated from their conquerors. The weregild of the



FIG. 112.—Silver coin of Odoacer. Original size. Obverse: portrait, with the moustache peculiar to the Germans, and the legend ODOVACar. Reverse: in monogram, ODOVA; below the wreath RV, for Ravenna, the place of coinage. Such minting cities were often indicated by the first two consonants occurring in their names: as MD, for Mediolanum (Milan); RM, for Roma. The Germans were especially fond of the monogram, as we see in the cases of Odoacer, of Ricimer, and of the Ostrogothic kings. (Berlin.)

free Frank was double that of the Roman proprietor, while in Burgundy both parties were on the same footing. Among the Vandals the land-tax was exacted only from the provincials; among certain other tribes, especially the Ostrogoths, it was laid also on the Germans. Among the Burgundians, Ostrogoths, Franks, and probably also the Visigoths, a recognized nobility of Roman descent maintained itself; not so among the Langobardi and Vandals. The states that had sprung up with the consent of the emperor preserved a greater equality in the political rights of both parties than those carved out by the sword.

In almost all the states the rich Romans—the so-called senators—come now and again prominently forward, attaining high positions, especially in the Church and at court. When the rumor spread that the Frank king, Theodoric, was made prisoner, the eminent Roman, Arcadius of Clermont, called on Childebert to take possession of the land. On the conclusion of peace between the two rulers, many sons of senators were given as hostages, and it is said of the Frank prince, Chramm, that he caused senators' daughters to be torn from their parents.

In the course of years the German element waned almost everywhere, or become so incorporated with the Roman that the latter lent to it its color and impress. In due time the vanquished were not Germanized, but the victors Romanized. Only the Franks, in their seats on the Scheldt, made their country German. The Anglo-Saxons, too, asserted their distinctive character, but, in their case, there was no proper Roman nationality to break down.

The old institutions continued to abide by the soil and to intertwine with the complicated state-system. Latin held its own against German as the written commercial and clerical language. The Roman mode of reckoning by indictions and consular years, Roman titles, both official and honorary, and also the Roman bureaucracy, with its systems of tax and finance, continued essentially in use. It was different in legal mat-

ters, where the two peoples remained apart. At first the Roman territorial law had to take the shape of race-law for the Romanized peoples; this race-law became once more common law, the provisions of which, however, were mostly borrowed from the Roman law, but not without an infusion of Germanic ideas. The German laws were often altered in accordance with those of the Empire, so that little of the German element was left in the laws of several tribes, particularly of the Goths and Burgundians, and least of all the Old German popular freedom. The constitution of the army was more permanent; it was developed rather than revolutionized. The king had the full right of summoning to war the able-bodied men of the nation—the *Heerbann*—and was, in person, commander-in-chief, which power he could delegate to others. With the Vandals the main force consisted only of Germans, but it could be supplemented by Moorish mercenaries. Much the same was the case with the Ostrogoths. The Visigoths, however, from the very founding of the kingdom of Toulouse, admitted provincials, and ultimately, serfs. Among the Franks every landowner was bound to serve, so that, in their army, Romans and Germans stood on an equal footing.

It is deeply to be regretted that, the custom being to write only in Latin, the German lay-element found no opportunity of expression in a national literature, from which a great deal of the historical information might have been gleaned, now sought for in vain. The death-struggle of the old with the new, of the Roman race with the German, of heathendom with Christianity—that era of elementary passions, intense characters, and incessant feats of daring—side by side with effeteness, decomposition, and intermingling of races manifold—are all withdrawn from the eye of research or appear only in blurred outlines. In their place we have the withered heroes of asceticism, with their heavenward aspirations and barren renunciation of the world and its pleasures. What we have lost we can infer from the fragment of the *Waltarilied*, from *Beowulf*, the *Merseburg Sentences*, and in the more remote distance, the songs of the *Nibelungen*, *Gudrun* and *Walter*—all which presuppose long pre-existing histories. What we have lost is in some measure betrayed by German songs and sagas, that, dead in their native soil, remain preserved in Denmark, Norway, and Iceland. In a foreign tongue and foreign garb we recognize *Siegfried*, *Bruneilde*, and *Hagen*, and the mighty *Dietrich of Berne*. It is the hard fate of German history that a tongue hoary with age, and an unsympathetic Church constituted the receptacle for the young, undeveloped blossoms of the native national life. It was otherwise with the North. There, speech was in harmony with conception, and Christianity was

only a new form in which the primitive life unfolded itself. While the pliant barbarian quickly acquired the Latin tongue on Roman soil, the finer Roman only rarely made the rough tones his own.

Even before the Germans reached the stage of founding states, they had been deeply affected by Roman influences, and the greater part of their world was knit to the sinking Empire through established legal forms. Up to this time their states had not been associated with any particular lands; many of their emigrant groups had changed their seats time and again, their existence as separate peoples depending on their kin- and tribe-relations. Their rights were still rooted in the folk-community, while the cosmopolitan characteristics of their manner of life were little in harmony with the artificial refinement of the later Roman life. Where the original kinship still exercised an influence in the new home, it became disturbed through the intermixing of the provincials and Germans, the more so as lasting weight was laid upon the system of hospitality. Where there were no separate manors, both elements often lived together in the same villages, and appear to have been held together by the same communal bond. In peace the Germans occupied themselves mainly with husbandry and cattle-raising, while the civic industries flourished more in the cities in the hands of free Romans and slaves. Commerce was largely in the hands of the Jews. But, allured by the pleasures of the towns, the Germans were more and more drawn to them.

It is a most significant fact that it was not nationality, but religion, that proved the most enduring bulwark of Germanism. The Romans were Catholics; the Germans, heathens, and later, Arians. This operated to check intermarriages, the tribal sentiment having but little influence as compared with religion, though here and there asserting itself. For instance, we know that for some time among the Visigoths no marriages between Germans and Romans were allowed. But, on the Catholic Church carrying the victory, King Reccesiwinth (who died in 672) decreed that mixed marriages between the free population of both nations be allowed, with the consent of the bride's family and the permission of the count. In the laws of the Ripuarian Franks, as well as in those of the Lango-bardian king, Liutprand (who died in 724), intermarriage is treated as if allowed, yet, at first at least, a wide distinction was made between the legally permissible and the actually customary. It is needless to point out that it was from the *connubium*, or intermarriage, of the Germans and Romans that the Romance nations have sprung. Yet it has been said that marriages were more customary between German males and Roman mothers than the reverse, and that thus the German nationality manifested itself in the male principle in the formation of the new national-

ities. However that may be, the provincials continued to constitute the overwhelming majority and were the sturdier in point of race.

The strongest contrasts were to be found in Italy. Here the pure Roman idea was more potent than elsewhere, and it was hither that the Langobardi came—a people who had preserved the character of a nature-folk, in all its fullness and strength, and of whom, more than of any other, it could be said that they were still more a people than a state. And so the Langobardian law proved especially full of vigor and energy, making no distinction between German and Roman (Fig. 113).

The changes in the German states were favorable to the kings. In so far as it was not based on their own people or had not been enlarged by conquest in defiance of the emperor, the power of the kings appeared to be an offshoot from the imperial, and was legitimately exercised only with the concurrence of the emperor. But the Empire, with its distinctive *imperium*, crumbled to dust, and for that reason there resulted an amalgamation of both dignities—Roman imperialism and German monarchy—in one person. The enhanced authority developed variously among various peoples. Side by side with the nearly absolute and irresponsible monarchy of the Franks, stood that of the Langobardi, which was limited by dukes, and that of the Visigoths, which was tempered by nobles, the Church, and assassination.

The sound German state organism was affected by being brought in contact with the decayed one of the Romans. Church, law, and customs sufficed at first to protect the distinctive character of the Germans. As land-owners in the country, or amidst the perils of war, they were remote from cities or found no leisure to learn their vices. In time they succumbed to the fascination of the cities. The official life of the great necessitated residence there. This applied, most of all, to the king, around whom the Germans and Romans thronged in eager rivalry. The Vandals were the first to fall victims, yielding to the alluring vices of Carthage. What was a German game of dice as compared with the gladiatorial show in the arena, the baiting of wild beasts, or the bull-fight? The Frankish king, in person, presided at kindred sports at Arles. What availed the chaste pleasures of the marriage-bed when beautiful and willing forms hung around the tribesman, wooing him to indulgence? Thus virtue became transformed into its opposite, and unbridled self-indulgence became an overmastering impulse. Everywhere there was a striving after, and affectation of, the foreign. Men were ambitious to become Romanized.

In every sphere of the collective life of the races a strong fermentation was required to produce the new and vital element. The conjunction of

the Germans with Rome, their initiation into Romano-Christian civilization, inaugurated a new political era, a transformation of the world.

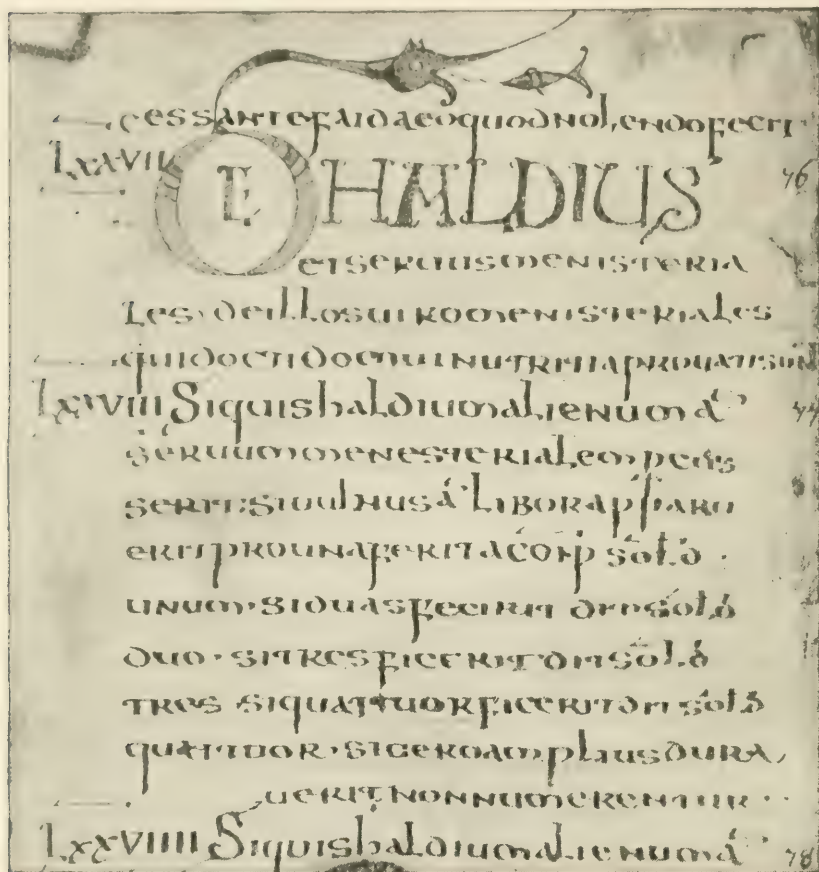


FIG. 113.—Facsimile from the manuscript of the Edict of Rothari, king of the Langobardi.
 St. Gall, Switzerland, cod. 730.

Transcription and Translation.

LXXVII. De haldius et servus menesteriales. de illos viro menesteriales, qui docti domui nutriti aprouati sunt.

LXXVIII. Si quis haldium alienum aut servum menesterialem percusserit, si vulnus aut libor apparuerit, pro una ferita conponat sol. unum, si duas fecerit, dit solidos duo, si tres ficerit, dit solidos tres, si quattuor ficerit, dit solidos quattuor, si vero amplius duraverit, non numerentur.

77. Of the serfs (called *haldii*), and of ministerials, and of those ministerials who are taught, nurtured, and educated in the house.

78. When one shall have wounded a *haldius*, not his own, or a ministerial, if the wound shall prove a severe one, he shall pay for one wound one shilling; if he inflicts two wounds, two shillings; if three, three; if four, four shillings. If the wounds are more numerous they shall not be further counted.

For an explanation of the expression "ministerial," see Chapter XXVII.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CHURCH.

THE Roman Empire moderated national and race distinctions, and had spread homogeneous culture and organization wide over the world. Tolerant of all that did not seem to imperil the state, it had spared the productions of men's genius and hands and had adopted them as its own. The original worship of the lowlands on the Tiber had been expanded into the religion of an Empire, but had been thereby robbed of its essence and degraded into an official cult, which became more and more mixed with strange creeds and a sceptical philosophy. In the misery of unbelief men groped about in an uncertain way, ending, not rarely, by throwing themselves into the arms of the most chaotic superstition. Although they affected to deride the gods, yet offerings were made, so far as possible, to each one, for it might be that he had existence and could help or hurt. In this pass tidings came from Palestine of the birth of a Saviour, who had founded a church which was not of this world, a Good Shepherd who had come to save the lost (Fig. 114).

The new teaching was proclaimed by its proselytes with all the ardor of passion. The conception that, through the Atonement, they had become the children of God, became to their fervent spirits almost a physical truth. In the midst of a sinful world they seemed to walk peacefully in immediate intercourse with the heavenly inhabitants and environed by the fullness of a divine life. How could the state appear to them anything but a sink of foulness and iniquity, in open revolt against God. Did it not daily have to do with matters antagonistic to the Christian conscience? In its essence and aim it remained to the believer heathen, worthy only of being turned from with contempt.

Contempt of the world and turning away from the state did not mean to the Christians actual hostility. The Saviour had ordained to give to Caesar the things that were Caesar's, a doctrine that St. Paul had expanded into unreserved submission to the powers that be, for all power had been derived from God. Thereby the Christians were expressly embraced in the state, although "the unseen kingdom of God" was readily misunderstood; and so the sovereignty of the Messiah came into collision with that of the emperor, and with the emperor-worship, which



FIG. 114.—The "Good Shepherd." Mosaic of the Fifth Century, in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna. (From J. P. Richter.)

had grown to be an essential element in the state religion. Arraignments could not but follow. The Christians were accused of hostility to the ruling powers, and, on account of their evasion of military service, of treason to their country. These charges were so far refuted by their own conduct and by their advocates in literature, that the government did not treat them as enemies on principle till the times of Decius and Diocletian.

The tendency of Christianity to the purely spiritual, and its renunciation of all earthly ties, enabled it to free itself from the bonds of Judaism and, without restriction, to unfold its blossoms on all sides. But this Godward tendency, this break with all the past, were not less requisite to enable it to enter in and maintain the fight against the power of heathenism. Not once did the believers doubt that to them and their Lord belonged the future. With unspeakable pride Origen exclaimed: "The wicked amongst us are purer than the best heathens; as stars in the night our congregations shine through the darkness of universal depravity." This spiritual arrogance and immovable conviction were thoroughly unlike the attitude of the Roman, and were thus an essential element of that ecstasy which sharply differentiated Christianity from the placid pagan state religion. To all reproaches Origen could oppose the question: "What other teaching had tamed so many passions and subdued hearts so savage?" Convinced of carrying the salvation of man with them, the proselytes, full of hope and sure of the future, disseminated their faith, which, blessed and blessing, deprived even death of its sting. By wisely adopting the outward form of the legally-recognized Roman brotherhoods, Christianity won toleration and time to develop itself and become a church indeed, which should be able, in the not remote future, to cause kings to bow before it. This change took place about the middle of the Second Century.

The oldest form of the Christian Church seems to have had its origin in the subordination of the individuals, through the voluntary submission of love, to the first converts. As the divine service in the apostolic age was performed at home, its constitution was that of a holy family bond, the members of which resembled family groups. The head, or superior, guided and supervised the congregation according to his own ideas, while at the same time each believer enjoyed the right of teaching the word. With expansion the necessity for a more rigid organization appeared, whereby the freedom of apostolic times gave place to the office of the eldership, or permanent episcopacy, which, in addition to its administrative functions, gradually assumed exclusive control of teaching. The change was in accord with the constitution of other religious associations

of the time. As the work of teaching and governing became heavier the distinction between the priest and layman became more definite. From about the middle of the Second Century we begin to pass from the presbyterian equality into episcopacy. Bishops appear as heads of the community, clothed upon by divine sanctity, and standing to the congregations in place of God. With this, a second conception shortly associated itself: the bishops were the successors of the apostles and the heirs of their authority. They only could consecrate; they guided the congregation and represented them to the world. The faithful must obey them, as sons obey a father. Only through them could believers become partakers of the Holy Ghost. The real seats of Christianity and the bishops were the cities. The country bishops receded before the city bishops and became dependent on them. The constitution of the Church had developed from a democracy, through aristocracy, into monarchy.

The congregations collectively—the Church itself—passed through the same stages. Dissensions, as well as community of interests, led, during the second half of the Second Century, to assemblies and conferences of neighboring bishops, out of which there grew, in the course of the Third Century, provincial synods, which were the highest organs for ecclesiastical legislation, administration, and law.

The provinces of the Church corresponded in the main with those of the Empire. The synodal system having originated in the East, we find metropolitan rule completely developed there. The metropolitan powers were developed chiefly in the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople. Each of these began to combine several provinces into a patriarchate, and, on the other Oriental seats sinking in importance before Constantinople, the Church (following the Empire) split into two great sections—the Church of the East and that of the West—each with its own speech and theological tendencies, yet at first still regarded as a unity.

This union of the faithful proved the rock of St. Peter, on which all the tempests of the time beat in vain. The Church grew rapidly into a state within a state. About the middle of the Second Century, a Christian prince sat on the throne of Edessa, in Syria, and soon communities appeared in Arabia, Parthia, Persia, and India. Christianity took fast foothold in Africa, and forced its way into Spain and affected Britain. By the end of the Third Century, churches arose in Armenia, and bishoprics on the Rhine and in Britain. From separate congregations, such as those that St. Paul had planted, Christianity stretched out to the wider seats of culture—the greater cities—to disseminate itself thence in the rural districts. Though professing Christians were in the minority in the

beginning of the Fourth Century, yet, by the Fifth, the Church had a complete organization even in Gaul.

Christianity exercised a disorganizing influence on the pagan state-system; for this, based on antique conceptions, had grown up in unison with the pagan state religion. By its very essence it lived at war with idolatry, and thus, involuntarily, with the imperial dignity, which, however, for its own sake and that of the Empire it sought to uphold. Diocletian sought to force the believers to worship the Roman gods: he wished to cement the state, if necessary, with the blood of the Christians. But the confessors of Christianity had become too numerous, and their enthusiasm imparted a degree of self-sacrifice and a moral strength that resisted alike imperial edicts and the executioner's axe. When the classically-cultured Rutilius Symmachus sailed past the island of Capraria and saw the dismal brood of monks that held rule there, he could not but exclaim, in bitterness of heart: "Oh, that we had never conquered Judea!"

Constantine, the follower of Diocletian, aimed at absolute authority, to attain which the oppressed believers offered convenient means. Their objects met in the desire to win the imperial sovereignty and to remodel it.

The victory of Constantine over Maxentius was a victory for the Cross. Yet though Christianity gained the ascendancy, its supremacy was not absolute. To avoid new commotions, the heathens were allowed to practice their religion as before, and they retained equal privileges. The Empire and its concerns, and especially, the duty of its emperor to maintain the public peace, were in Constantine's eyes of more consequence than the confession of that God of whom he said: "Through Thy power have I become great; I fear Thy power." In thus depriving the state of its former religious aspect, Constantine removed the impediment that had restrained Christians from full submission, thus doing what the time demanded, and concentrating in his own person the unlimited supremacy over both the Christian and heathen religions. Constantine's position reacted on that of the Christians. Through their association with the Empire, which brought with it the intermingling of State and Church, the latter acquired the form of unity, and its external organization reached greater perfection.

But though paganism was overcome, it was far from being destroyed. The Christians have been estimated at a twentieth—at highest, at a twelfth—of the gross population, and the most important offices were still in the hands of pagans. On the other hand, the believers constituted the lowest stratum of society, and had, as far as possible, held themselves aloof from public life. Only their moral worth and the motives by

which they were actuated caused them to appear much stronger than they really were. With Christianity there came, as a legacy from the Jews, higher conceptions and higher interests. Life had once more a purpose. Men were inspired anew by the strength of the emotions. While Constantine was still alive, the spirit of intolerance raised the cry for the extirpation of paganism, the destruction of its temples, and for sole supremacy. Constantine had already declared that the old superstition must cease, and had framed laws ordering the closing of the temples and the abolition of sacrifices, upon pain of death. But the result was not commensurate with the strength of the mandate. In the West, where idolatry was strongest, the reaction came in the person of Emperor Julian. But he died, and the spirit of the times rolled like a mighty river over his dreams and his deeds. Men like Gratian and Theodosius shortly arose to decide the struggle between the old and the new confessions in favor of the latter. As there was but one Empire, so there must be but one faith, and with this end, every spark of surviving paganism must be trodden out. Deeds evidenced the earnestness of purpose. The altar of Victory was removed from the senate-chamber of Rome; the Olympic games were suppressed (in 394); and the sacred fire on the altar of Vesta was extinguished.

In the laws of Theodosius, compulsion began to be applied to conversion. On August 4, 425, Valentinian III. announced it to be the duty of the state to restore the unity of the Catholic faith, and to compel, upon pain of proscription, every pagan and heretic to enter the Church. In 435, an order appeared for the destruction of all temples and shrines of idolatry, and the erection of crosses in their place.

Despite all edicts paganism maintained itself stubbornly. Accordingly, in addition to this official war of extirpation, a private one, more rancorous and probably more effective, had been going on for some time, in which bishops and monks hounded on the too ready fanatical rabble of the cities. Everywhere destruction marked their path. In Syria the "god-like" Marcellus levelled the great temple of Zeus at Apamea with the ground, marching from place to place with a band of soldiers and gladiators to annihilate the abodes of Satan. It came to open fight in regard to the temple of Serapis at Alexandria, till its defenders submitted to the peremptory decree of the emperor, when the eager hand of the destroyer reduced the splendid edifice to a heap of ruins. Throughout all Egypt the metal statues were melted down and devoted to the use of the Church. The invaluable library of Alexandria, too, was destroyed at this time. Twenty years later, its empty compartments aroused the wrath of the Spaniard, Orosius, who wrote a book against the heathen.

In different regions great religious leaders arose, in the stories of whose lives history and religion blend. Thus Gaul was the special field of St. Martin. A soldier from the Danube, he had given himself up to Christianity and the monastic life. An uneducated man, he had been made Bishop of Tours by the people and against the will of the high clergy. As such he went around with his monks preaching and working miracles, destroying temples and idols, and building monasteries and churches. At Treves, when Maximus caused the wine-cup to be first presented to him, he, after drinking, handed it, not to the emperor, but to his attendant priest. In contempt of law and justice and in contravention of the peace of the land, the high-handed work of conversion, subjugation, and cruel oppression went on.

Even with the best will to Christianity the emperors could not permanently connive at such doings, the less so as under the cloak of zealous faith the worst passions gained the upper hand, and property and personal freedom were undermined. Acts of violence were forbidden by repeated statutes, the temples were declared the property of the state, and it was even decreed that no priest could, of his own motion, enforce Christianity. Wrongs must be compensated by threefold or fourfold equivalents. One learns with special loathing that under the sons of Constantine the lust for destruction was directed against even the monuments of the dead—those richly decorated though silent witnesses to the glories of the past. Even bishops and other clerics did not shun to set an example of the scandalous desecration of tombs. At length Valentinian III. decreed that persons of the lower class should expiate such outrages with their lives, men of rank, by loss of property and life-long degradation.

Stringent as were the laws they constituted but a feeble bulwark against fanaticism. Paganism was attacked on all sides, and yet it maintained itself tenaciously, especially in the western provinces of the Empire. It was closely associated with a famous past, and conservative spirits gazed anxiously around expecting the world to sink under the wrath of the gods; the victory of the barbarians seemed to them the visible inauguration of the collapse. The city prefect of Constantinople was still a pagan in 404. The fifth Synod of Carthage, in 401, saw itself necessitated to address an earnest prayer to the emperor, that he should give orders for the destruction of the numerous temples of the old faith, which still survived in full force in the cities of the coast (Fig. 115). The ancient sacred groves and trees must also disappear, and the scandalous heathen orgies, which had still a strong power of attraction for weak Christians, be prohibited. Even after the promulgation of the Theodosian *Codex*

the emperor had to confess that, despite the previous threats of punishment, the pagans still presumed to offer sacrifices. About 459, Pope Leo



FIG. 115.—The Moon god. Relief in the Cathedral at Bayeux. (Rev. Archéol.)

I. sent instructions to the Bishop of Narbonne, as to how he should deal with Christians who took part in pagan games or festivals, or had prayed to idols. Only too often Christianity showed itself but a thin varnish. The old usages, processions, dances, and songs, the conviction that the Empire was dependent on the favor of the gods, again and again reasserted themselves. In the Fifth Century, the Christian consuls let themselves be influenced by auguries. Not until 494 was the festival of the Lupercalia converted into the feast of the Purification of the Virgin, and,

in 529, the last temple of Apollo, standing on Mount Cassino, was modified into a monastery by St. Benedict. In the same year Justinian broke up the schools of philosophy at Athens. When the Goths, in 537, were besieging Belisarius in Rome, some adherents of the old faith made a secret attempt to open the gates of the temple of Janus. Eminent landed proprietors still let their vassal peasantry pray to whom they pleased; but the second council of Arles issued an edict against the custom. Heathen nature-worship found its last asylum among the simple, superstitious country people (*pagani*, whence the term "paganism"), whose weal or woe depended on the elements. In Gaul, survivals of the Celto-Roman worship lingered till deep into the time of the Franks, to vanish only after centuries of combined exertion on the part of the state authorities and the Church.

Unfortunately this latter organization did not issue from the struggle unscathed. She purchased victory at the cost of morality and freedom. In her earlier days she rested on conviction; now she was a state institution and fashionable, regarding, however, her earthly organization as equivalent to the kingdom of God and deriving divine right therefrom. In order to satisfy all requirements, the Church had to materialize her exuberant strength, her inner spiritual life. Good works, fasts, and alms

began to be held equally expiatory with prayer. Many forced themselves, without a call, into the offices that held out honor, power, and riches, not with the view of serving their flocks, but of enjoying themselves and ruling. Intrigue, unscrupulousness, falsehood, self-seeking, all the evils of the time, gained entrance into the church. The earlier simple home-worship of apostolic times was overlaid by the pomp and sensuous attractions of heathen cult, wherewith the propensity for externals and symbolism was mightily fostered. In holy wrath St. Salvianus exclaimed: "Men prefer the theatre to the Church of God, profane the altar and honor the stage. Everything is loved and honored save God, who alone seems contemptible and vulgar. With us nearly all that concerns true religion is the subject of ridicule."

With drastic sarcasm St. Jerome depicts a class of priests in his day: "There are those who aspire to a spiritual office in order to be able to visit the ladies with greater freedom. Their whole care is directed to their robes, whether they exhale perfumes, and whether their foot does not slip out of the shoe. Their hair is frizzed with the curling-iron; their fingers glitter with rings." A companion picture for these over-fine priests he offers in his description of the Cynics: "They let their hair grow long, wear a goat-like beard, black mantles, and go bare-footed. Externally they seem ever subdued; professedly they fast much to eat better at night. They gain entrance into noble houses and delude sin-burdened women." Others again were mere loafers and newsmongers, who went from house to house gathering and retailing scandal. The very "brides of Christ," "who allure with stolen glances," do not escape St. Jerome's censure. But, on the other hand, he finds subject for praise in the number and zeal of the church-goers. The strongest contrasts made themselves apparent.

In especial, the new teaching was favorable for women and slaves, for it represented all mankind as equal before God. When, in 553, a Herulian of rank, in Byzantine pay, had slain a slave, Narses summoned him to appear before him "because it would be a scandal to enter the battle-field, ere the stain was wiped out." The barbarian maintained that a master could do what he willed with his slave, and showed no compunction, whereupon Narses caused him to be put to death.

If, in the first three centuries, the ancient pagan world and Christianity lived, as it were, side by side, in the time following the ascendancy of Christianity became obvious. The Church lent to the state somewhat of the aspect of a theocracy; it knew how to turn to its use the social distresses of the time, and thus to replace the state in its own field. In monasticism it gave to the individual an ideal

of life altogether at variance with the sensual life of the older times.

And, exactly at the time when St. Augustine set up the kingdom of God in place of the earthly one, this latter began to crumble to ruins, and the *Goths* appeared—to found their dominion on the soil of the *Caesars*. A new element entered the civilized world, which was soon to become as important to the Church as it had been to the state. Both were forthwith involved in the whirlpool of contending creeds.

The doctrines of Christianity admit of various interpretations, and so give rise, inevitably, to theological controversies. The leisure now attained, the rhetorico-sophistical tendency of the age, and the strong common interest in the subject all worked toward one end. The problem was how to bring the mysteries of the faith into closer accord with the human intellect. From the field of theology and the halls of learning questions were imported not only into religion and the Church, but into the field of every-day life. The state itself took sides in the controversies, so that questions, practically insoluble, acquired not only the highest social, but occasionally a decided political, importance.

The *Donatists* of Africa and the *Meletians* of Egypt were still ranged in opposition to the Orthodox, when a strife broke out that shook the whole Empire. The subject was the relation of the Son to the Father. In the intellectually active city of Alexandria lived the presbyter Arius, who was, as it appears, with others of his class, to a certain degree in conflict with the growing assumptions of episcopacy. A speech of his bishop, Alexander, in which he gave prominence to the unity of the Godhead in the Trinity, moved Arius to enter the lists against what he deemed a Sabellian error. He and his adherents were deprived of their offices, but he found support in Syria and Asia Minor, especially from Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia; while others, as Eusebius of Caesarea, held, at least, that the truth was not injured by his teaching. Both parties grew in numbers, and matters become so serious that Constantine felt himself constrained to intervene that the unity of the Church, so essential to the unity of the Empire, might not be imperilled. Not trusting himself to pronounce a decision, he summoned a great council.

The doctrine of Arius was that God alone is unbegotten and eternal; inexpressible in His being, He has no equal, the Son not excepted; the latter was created out of nothing by the free will of the Father, before the world and before time, but yet is not eternal; He is the creator of the world, His divinity resulting from the glory received from the Father. The meaning of this is that the Son is a creature of God, not God *per se*. In opposition, Alexander, of Alexandria, had main-

tained the inseparable oneness and union of Father and Son, and that as Creator of all things, the Son must have been on the bosom of the Father from the beginning; that He is the full likeness of the original, and one with Him. The strength of the Catholic confession lay in its definiteness; that of Arianism in the logical incontestability of its fundamental principle and the harmony of this with sound reason. But its conception of Christ was not clear and was dogmatically weaker.

In June, 325, the first ecumenical council of the Church, consisting entirely of oriental bishops—over two hundred and fifty in number—was called together in the royal palace of Nice (in Asia Minor). Constantine himself opened the council by a speech, in which he said he had called it together in order to put an end to divisions in the Church, in which there lay more danger than in anything else. The parties assailed each other fiercely. A disciple of Alexander, Athanasius, was the chief opponent of Arius. The majority did not wish to drive matters to extremities, and formulated a decree in which all might unite, according to which the Son was declared to be one in essence with the Father. The word used (*homoousios*, “of the one substance,” as opposed to *homoiousios*, “of a like substance”), around which the contest raged most fiercely, was properly a party-term of the rigid Alexandrians, but it was accompanied by supplementary explanations that enabled it to be interpreted in another sense. A paper of reconciliation was subscribed, because it was the emperor’s wish that the Church should present an unbroken front to the heathen, while each might adjust the “oneness of substance” to his own conviction. In the future, the term assumed vastly increased proportions, for it became the watchword of Orthodoxy, which more and more found its champion in Athanasius. In June, 328, he ascended the chair of Alexandria, while Arius had to wander in exile to Pannonia. Arius seemed lost; but later, gaining the ear of Constantine—who, by the way, died an Arian—he was readmitted into the Church, while Athanasius lost in favor. Arius died suddenly in Constantinople, at a time when his enemy was an exile in Treves, where he won over the Western Church.

On Constantine’s death, his son, Constantius, espoused still more decidedly the side of the Arians, of whom Eusebius, of Nicomedia, now Bishop of Constantinople, was head. These teachings, however, he accepted with modifications and in the sense of the Nicæan majority, according to which, the Son was produced from eternity out of the nature of the Father, and was similar to him. On the one side stood the Oriental leaders by whom Athanasius was sentenced; on the other, the Westerns, who demanded his restoration. In 343, a council was held in Sardica

(modern Sophia) for the purpose of reconciling the different views, but the result was precisely the reverse—viz., an open breach. With one voice the preponderating Westerns greeted Athanasius as a brother and fellow-bishop, and adopted resolutions against the prominent Eusebians. These withdrew with the Orientals to Philippopolis, thence to issue a protest. Constantius, emperor of the West, constrained by his bishops, laid it down to his brother as the condition of peace that he should restore the ousted bishops. In fear that a Church wrangle might develop into a political strife, probably into a serious war, Constantius gave way. But he never forgave the enforced return of Athanasius. In his eyes he was a rebel and a sower of discord. Then came further complications. Constantius came to his end through Magnentius, who himself turned to the patriarch of Alexandria (Athanasius), probably with the view of gaining over Egypt to his side. Athanasius saw in Magnentius a friend of his exile and of his party, and accepted the commission. Constantius prevailed, became sole ruler of the wide Empire, and was in a position to proceed against the dangerous ring-leader. Athanasius, condemned to death, was surprised in the church about midnight, but escaped in the general tumult. An adherent of the emperor mounted his seat. Declaring Athanasius to be a man of inexpressible profligacy, Constantius sought to constrain the West to his side, but met with obdurate resistance, the Church dignitaries setting up the untrammelled jurisdiction of the Church in opposition to the supreme judicial authority of the emperor. Pope Liberius espoused the cause of the threatened patriarch, and was driven into exile. Discord waxed ever stronger among the powers of the Empire barely brought into unison by Constantine—between the Eastern and Western Churches, the spiritual and temporal authorities, the emperor and the pope.

But still the emperor was predominant. His energetic will imposed on the council of Sirmium a formula, wherein the watch-word of the Athanasians was avoided, and the unity of the Divine nature in all save birth was maintained. Four hundred Western bishops, assembled in Ariminum (Rimini), acceded, though reluctantly, to the decrees. A synod at Constantinople, and even the pope, acquiesced. The emperor was victor; the unity of the church seemed assured, and the Empire won to a modified Arianism.

But only for a time. The dominant doctrine, maintained in its integrity only by the common foe and the elasticity of its propositions, now that peace was attained through victory, began, as it were, to decompose and to give scope for divergencies of views in various directions. Moreover, on the death of Constantius, the dogmas suppressed

and persecuted by him, but whose roots lay firmly fixed, though deep out of sight, again forced themselves into notice. Above all, paganism, which had apparently become innocuous, showed itself suddenly once more in the light of day and, with Julian, ascended the imperial throne. Inimical to, but tolerant of, Christianity, it held itself aloof from its party strifes, so that the exiled bishops ventured to return, and, among them, Athanasius.

His liberation gave a mighty impulse to his cause. The Arians continued disunited and at war among themselves over subordinate points. The more rigid found a zealous champion in the Emperor Valens, who, by persecution, drove the more moderate into the arms of the Athanasians. Through councils and polemical writings, court-cabals and riotings, the land became one vast scene of conflict—in the last result, to the gain of the foe. A peculiar fate struck Valens, the hope of strict Arianism. He fell at Adrianople in battle against the Goths, who were soon to be its mainstay. The fact became ever more obvious that Arianism could not become the creed of the Empire, so that Theodosius was in accord with actual conditions when he elevated Orthodoxy in its place. With all the resources of imperial authority he appeared as its defender. Only the confessors of the Orthodox faith should receive the name of Christians; their adversaries were delivered over, as infamous heretics, to divine, and soon also to temporal, punishment. Everywhere the Arians were driven forth. The great Council of Constantinople (381) confirmed the Nicene Creed, and enlarged and strengthened it by supplements. This now runs: "One Godhead and one Being, equal in dignity and co-eternal dominion of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as the three most perfect existences."

Arianism was too much disorganized to withstand the energy of the Theodosio-Athanasian policy. It rapidly approached dissolution, although Justina, widow of Valentinian I., afforded it an asylum and a sanctuary in Milan. Even there it found in St. Ambrose its most pertinacious opponent. The spirit of the age prevailed, and with the Fifth Century Arianism proper disappeared.

And yet a great history was in store for it, for it had passed the boundaries of the Empire, and become the Christianity of the Germans. With them their faith conquered. All the provinces of the Western Empire fell under their sway, all the immigrant tribes adopted their faith, with the single exception of the Franks of Northern Gaul, and even among them it had already gained ground. Again the question arose whether the future was to belong to Arianism or Orthodoxy, when once more the answer decided in favor of the latter.

Unfortunately, our information regarding the conversion of these early peoples amounts to little or nothing. The Romans had no appreciation of it, and Ulfilas's Bible is not more than a translation. Centuries later, in the time of Louis the Pious, we get from the old Saxon poem of the *Heliand* glimpses of the conversion of the northern tribes. Yet the picture of the old condition of affairs is very faint because the poem breathes the spirit of the later feudalism. Thus we find the relation of the believer to his Lord represented by that of the vassal to his superior. Christ is engaged in a great military expedition against the Devil and the World, and has assembled the bands of the faithful. Wherever the host makes a halt, the twelve apostles, as next in command, encamp in a circle immediately around their king, the others lying around them farther out. The highest glory is to stand by the Lord and, if need be, to die for him. Angels in robes of feathers float over them in attendance, much as the saga reports of Freya and the Norns, or like the Valkyrs that conduct the souls of heroes through the clouds to Valhalla. In the relation of the Son to the Father was recognized the duality of Wodan (Odin) and his son, Donar (Thor). Nor was this transference of mediæval ideas by any means limited to this production. Much later, and in the works of such eminent and faithful believers as Gregory of Tours, pagan conceptions not rarely break forth. The conversion of the Germans was coincident with the period of their most stormy migrations and their rising into monarchical powers, so that it is more than likely that their apprehension of Christ as supreme ruler of his people was considerably affected by the development of their own sovereignty.

This much is clear from the rapidity with which Christianity made its way among the Germans: namely, that their heathenism was moribund and ready to fall to pieces. It consisted originally in a worship of sacred places and nature. It is evident that wandering from such sacred places must have undermined the German cult. Tacitus tells us that in his day the Germans made no likenesses of their gods, and yet individual examples of such occur. The barbarians were, even then, spell-bound by the Roman civilization. Thus we find antique images of Mercury (Fig. 116), who was at the same time the supreme god of the Germans. Under the pressure of the Roman state-religion, representations of the gods in human form must have gone on increasingly (Fig. 117). At the end of our period, the German Pantheon, like the Roman, appears entirely anthropomorphic. We find, for example, that Athanaric caused an image standing on a wagon to be carried round among the Goths, to see who would pray to it. Gregory of Tours represents Clotilda as saying to Clovis: "The gods you serve are powerless, for they are only

figures of stone, wood, or brass that can help neither themselves nor others." That with their transmutation in form, the conception of the gods should also be revolutionized goes without saying. Sometimes they were idealized; sometimes degraded. The foreign cult made its influence



FIG. 116.—Mercury: bronze statuette. Height, $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. Found near the Heselberg. (Munich.)

ever more felt. Heathenism had no longer a secure foundation, and the confidence of its professors was shaken or destroyed. German paganism became more and more assimilated to the Roman, and could not, therefore, avoid being involved in its fate. Notwithstanding this, among certain

peoples, as the Alamanni, heathenism offered an obdurate and even a passionate resistance. Of them Procopius reports, in 553: "They plundered the churches ruthlessly, and robbed them of their ornaments; they cast down the roofs of the houses of God, and overturned the foundations. All holy places were defiled."



FIG. 117. — Bronze figure of Diana, in Lyons. (Gaz. Archéol.)

Through slaves and fugitives, merchants and handicraftsmen, Christianity found entrance, probably as early as the Second and Third Centuries, into isolated localities across the border-streams. In the beginning of the Fourth, it spread generally among the Goths on the mouths of the Danube and the Black Sea. From their raids they brought back with them many comparatively civilized Christians, and intercourse between the people of the North and South became more frequent. Thus it was that Christianity became usual among them, first in the form of Orthodoxy, which happened then to prevail. Athanasius boasts of the conquest Christianity had made of the barbarians, especially of the Goths, whom, from savagery, it had brought into civilization, seeing in this the fulfill-

ment of the prophecy that men should beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks. When, after Constantine's death, Arianism became the state creed, the Goths also adopted it as theirs, and this all the more lastingly, since in Ulfilas a man arose whom Constantius well named the "Moses of the Goths." It is often said that the acceptance of Arianism was largely in consequence of its more comprehensible explanation of the personality of Christ. There may be something in this for the Empire generally, but assuredly the Goths of that period were not the people to concern themselves with the subtleties of Greek speculation. Christianity in its broad features was adopted by them, and the change of views in the Empire no doubt reacted on them. Sozomen says: "The Goths saw that it was well for them to propitiate the God of the Christians by following the

example of their captors and worshipping the same high Being they did."

The Gothic Christian community had to rely for support on the Roman state authorities, because their religious disruption soon gave rise to political discord, in consequence of which Ulfilas and his followers had to wander forth in search of protection and homes. He and Fritigern led the Christianized part, the Goth Athanaric led that which still remained pagan. In 376, the majority of the Visigoths, with Fritigern at their head, by agreement entered the Roman territory. All these circumstances co-operated to win them over to the new faith. According to Jordanes, they promised the Emperor Valens, before crossing the Danube, that they would become Christians if he gave them teachers, "and as Valens was then tainted by the perfidious apostacy of Arianism, he sent them partisans of this creed as preachers." So predominant did Christianity soon become that presently even Athanaric embraced it.

The efforts of Theodosius and John Chrysostom (patriarch of Constantinople, after 398) to convert the Goths to the Nicene Creed proved fruitless. The latter consecrated Gothic-speaking priests and deacons, and assigned them a church in the capital. A Gothic Catholic church arose on the Bosphorus. The patriarch also sent missionaries to the Danube and the Crimean peninsula, and a district of the Crimea was formed into a see, that, down till the Eighteenth Century, received the name of the "Bishopric of Gothia." But, on the whole, the success was scanty. The mass of Western and Eastern Goths remained Arian, and carried their creed with them into their new seats in Spain and Italy.

We know nothing of the details of the conversion of the Germans still living under Hunnish sway—Ostrogoths, Gepidae, Vandals, etc. As they belonged mostly to the Gothic group, their Christianized brothers probably introduced the faith among them. When the power of Attila and his sons collapsed, there remained comparatively few except converted Germans in the low country.

That Christianity produced a decided moral effect on them and the cognate tribes we cannot affirm. They appear to have changed one religion for another, without endeavoring to penetrate into the meaning of that of their adoption. It was strong enough, however, to engender an abhorrence of heathenism, and to aid in the destruction of its edifices and the extirpation of its confessors. Especially was this the case in Rome, on whose glorious past heathendom had settled itself with especial tenacity. Alaric's conquest of the city was, in the eyes of the Christian apologists, a judgment from on high. He himself is said to have declared that he did the work at the admonition of an inward voice which con-

stantly urged: "Up! and destroy the city!" Roman paganism received through Alaric a more severe blow than through the most of the former edicts of the emperors.

Like a star amid the general darkness shines the "Life of St. Severinus," illumining for a brief moment the Eastern Alpine lands, which constituted the province of Noricum, immediately before the fall of the Empire. The population was already Catholic, intermixed with some relics of heathenism. A church with bishops and priests had already been organized, but the sainted recluse, whose labors commenced shortly after the death of Attila, towers above them all. By all—Romans and Germans alike—he was held in high esteem, and, if in any case this failed, he knew how to awaken reverent fear, nay, awe, for his God. He became thus the benefactor, almost the saviour of the sorely afflicted land, aiding and supporting it by example, counsel, and deeds, raising even tithes for the support of the poor. The Germans were mainly attached to the Arian rite, as was certainly the case with the Rugian royal family; the impetuous queen, Gaisa, did not even shrink from baptizing Catholic Romans into Arianism. Notwithstanding this, and notwithstanding their uninterrupted expeditions for plunder and conquest, Severinus understood how to maintain his connection with them unbroken, so that the Rugian king himself took counsel of him, while "all the people, like their ruler, testified their gratitude to him by their compliance with his wishes, and begged his help in their extremities. Men of other races, also, to whom the fame of so great a miracle had come, much wished to see the champion of Christ and to win his blessing." Among such visitants was Odoacer, in the course of his progress to the south. The saint is said to have addressed him on his departure: "Go forth! go forth! Now clad in a wretched hide, you will soon distribute rich gifts." We see that the misery of the time had reduced men again to primitive or patriarchal conditions. The main Arian people of this region, the Rugii, stood in closest relation with the neighboring Ostrogoths, in whose hosts they were afterward incorporated to the loss of their identity. In this we see a probable reason for their faith.

Let us glance next at the Burgundians. Of them Orosius tells us, incidentally, that they had become Christians shortly before the compilation of his work (417). They were, he says, of the Catholic faith and under Catholic laws, and lived in friendship with the subdued Gauls, as with Christian brethren. But the orthodoxy of the Burgundians was of brief duration. When they spread over Savoy, and had the Arian Goths for neighbors, they were themselves already Arian. Among the Arian main mass of the people were to be found, here and there, Catholics; nay,

some part of the race was still heathen—a fact in the sequel of no little moment as a cause of weakness to the kingdom.

The Suevi appear to have been still heathen on their entrance into Spain, and thereafter, adopting the creed of the provincials, to have attached themselves, at least in their main body, to the Catholic faith. Under King Remismund, and at the time of their close alliance with the Visigoths, Arianism, through the influence of the latter, became the state religion.

It was otherwise with their original neighbors, the Vandals, who seem to have been already Arians when they set out on their great migration westward. Procopius makes their Gothic origin the reason for their faith. Unfortunately, our information on this point is meagre and far from definite. Within historical times at least the Vandals were Arians.

The last German people who settled within the territory of the Roman Empire—namely, the Langobardi—belong also to this group. They came as Arians, with but little tinge of Christianity about them, and still strongly permeated with heathen elements. Thus the older settled population saw itself threatened not only in its orthodoxy, but in its Christianity, for heathendom did not hesitate to consecrate mountains and groves to its native Gods. Gradually the remaining heathen elements went down with Arianism.

Among the Franks, too, the heretical doctrine had got a foothold, and had already won over a sister of their king, Clovis.

From all the above, it appears that Arianism came to the Germans in the place of its moribund heathenism. It found acceptance with nearly all the more highly-developed peoples who came within the bounds of the Roman Empire. It was in harmony with the spirit of the Germans at this time. Through the Goths it was most likely introduced among the medley of peoples constituting the empire of the Huns, whence its seeds were scattered outward in all directions.

The fact that Arianism was coincident with German culture determined its historical position and development. So long as the German national feeling remained strong and self-conscious, Arianism served to strengthen it and to accentuate the distinction between the rulers and the subject Catholics; but it contributed at the same time to the derangement of the state organization, which could ill bear such discord. The people who first surmounted this source of weakness gained a start and secured the future. This people was the Franks, who, being inferior in numbers and civilization to the Roman provincials, profited by adopting the faith of the conquered.

In respect to the conversion of the Franks, we possess details ample enough, but they are unfortunately tinged with myth. Here the central figure is Clovis, (Chlodwig or Hlodowech). His father had been in the Roman service, and came much in contact with the Catholic Church. Clovis himself still lived as a heathen, though through his espousal of the Burgundian Catholic princess, Clotilda (Chrotechilde), and especially since the baptism of his children in the faith of their mother, he showed himself favorably disposed thereto, without, however, letting this interpose any impediment to his plundering Christian churches and setting them in flames. In vain Clotilda labored for the conversion of her husband. He answered her only : " At the word of the German gods was all created ; the Christian God is manifestly a being without power, and, in no respect, of the race of the gods." Her efforts remained fruitless ; he desired evidence of the divine power to change his opinion. He was to have it. In the crush of fight with the Alamanni, Clovis was in the last extremity. His gods denied him help. He then raised his eyes to heaven, and cried out : " Jesus Christ ! Clotilda says thou art the son of the living God, that thou givest help to the sore distressed, and victory to those who trust in thee. I implore thy aid. If thou grantest me the victory, and I have proof of that power that men attribute to thee, then I will believe, and be baptized in thy name." The prayer was no sooner ended than the enemy succumbed. The queen summoned Remigius, Bishop of Rheims. On hearing his exhortation, the king became afraid that his people would not suffer him to desert their gods. But when they assembled, they raised the cry that they were ready to follow the immortal God. Highly delighted, the bishop ordered the baptismal font to be prepared. The streets leading to the church were decorated with parti-colored hangings ; the church itself, with white curtains. The candles were lighted, and incense sent forth its fragrant clouds. Standing before the font, Remigius said : " Bow thy neck in silence, Sigambrian ; reverence what thou hast persecuted, and persecute what thou hast revered." Then he baptized him in the name of the Trinity, and anointed him with holy oil under the sign of the Cross. More than three thousand people followed his example.

Mythical as the above report may sound in particulars, it yet seems credible as to the main facts. Later times have embellished it by adding that on account of the throng the holy oil could not be conveyed to the place, whereupon a dove descended from heaven bringing with it a flask of oil. This flask is the so-named *ampulla*, from which the French kings were anointed from 1179 till it was destroyed in 1794.

A part of the people, as we have seen, went with the king ; the rest

continued in heathenism under Prince Ragnachar, till he, too, and the cognate Ripuarians, acknowledged the God of the Christians. The Church was not slow to recognize the importance of its conquest, and Clovis availed himself of this to make his faith predominant over Gaul. Bishop Avitus of Vienne congratulated him and expressed the wishes and hopes of the Burgundian episcopate: to him was entrusted the dissemination of Christianity among all peoples; his fortune affected also the Catholics of Burgundy, "for where you contend we conquer." Not less full of promise was the writing in which Anastasius II., Bishop of Rome, greeted him, assuring him that "the Lord would give him victory over all his enemies." Such was the salutation of the pope to the sovereign of the Franks—the two dominant powers of the coming centuries. The crowning at Rheims was the prelude to the coronation of Charlemagne in the Cathedral of St. Peter's at Rome—the first step toward the dominion of the world.

Clovis's natural disposition remained unaffected by the new teaching. He pursued his end mercilessly and selfishly with treachery and the sword, and the people took after their king. Procopius had still to report of the Franks: "So soon as they were masters of the bridge across the Po, near Pavia, they slaughtered the Gothic women and children and threw their bodies as offerings of the first-fruits of the war into the river; for, although these barbarians have become Christians, they have retained many heathen usages, and among them that of human and other horrible sacrifices, which they substitute in place of their oracles." When they returned to Italy somewhat later (in 553) they conducted themselves with more forbearance, herein differing from the Alamanni.

The conversion of the Franks marks the close of the first period of German Christianity; that of the dwellers in the interior of Germany and of the Anglo-Saxons belongs to the second period, in which other factors were at work.

Fate willed that the two Churches—the Arian and Catholic—should be instituted and work side by side. Outwardly the German church was the dominant one; but Orthodoxy, with its high conviction that it alone was soul-saving, had a stronger inner life. In its eyes the Arian was nothing more than an ill-conditioned, miserable heretic. Salvian says, quite frankly: "We despise the Goths and Vandals, in that we have to reproach them with heresy." To Gregory of Tours the Arians are not merely strayed and lost sheep, but are abandoned creatures; the zeal of their priests only criminal stubbornness, inasmuch as they cling to their faith against better convictions. The Catholics are the only

Christians. Enraged that an Arian would not allow himself to be converted, he breaks forth: "The Lord will not let our doctrine become cold, so that we should distribute his sacred symbol to heathens, and cast precious pearls before filthy swine." What the sword had united, the creed of the Church divided. In its whole nature Arianism was less passionate and violent than Orthodoxy, and had become the creed of a people always characterized by far-reaching tolerance, nay, almost by an affection for foreign opinions. Even Gregory I. was able to testify that the godless Arian priests of the Langobardi did not persecute the true faith. Other sources bear like testimony. The very tolerance of Arianism made it unfit to become the triumphant form of Christianity, yes, made it self-destructive. The Burgundian king, Sigismund, humbly addressed the pope as "Liege lord of the whole church." The Visigoth Leovigild, the last Arian of importance of his race, willingly showed respect to holy men of the other creed, and one of his nobles said to Bishop Gregory of Tours: "Revile not the religion of others; we Goths do not revile your faith, although we do not share it. We do not hold it for a crime to believe in one way or another. With us it is a common saying that it is not criminal for one passing between the altars of the heathen and the church of God to show honor to both." Such a creed was little calculated to train the spiritual conquerors of Christendom, but it could infuse tolerance into some Catholics, one of whom declared: "The Goths are heretics, but they know it not. They are such, not out of hate, but out of love of God." Nothing better illustrates the difference in the nature of the two churches than the attitude of the Jews toward them. We find this people fighting on the side of the Visigoths when they defended Arles against the Franks, as well as on the side of the Ostrogoths against the Byzantines at Naples. Yet when the Visigoths became orthodox they became also foes of the Jews, while, under the Ostrogoth Theodoric, the orthodox inhabitants of Ravenna stormed the synagogues and gave them to the flames.

And the Arians, too, at times, used violence toward Catholics, especially the Vandals and the Ostrogoths under Euric. Even before the storming of Carthage, the Vandals encroached on their faith, Genseric striving to Arianize such of the orthodox as lived at his court, and after the fall of the city, these efforts culminated in persecution. Their bishops and a great part of their clergy were banished, and several of their churches destroyed or made over to the Arians. And this was but the prelude to the persecution under Genseric's successor, Huneric. When the Catholics refused to accept the formula of Rimini, he caused the bishops to be maltreated in their persons and driven forth, and closed

all the Catholic churches. Even laymen were banished; yet but few executions took place, so that Catholics might have no pretext for claiming martyrdom. Thrasamund, too, went unscrupulously to work. One hundred and twenty bishops of the province of Byzacena, because of their consecrating Catholic brothers, were sent in exile to Sardinia. Catholicity was stricken in its most sensitive part—in its episcopal constitution. Carthage was especially aimed at, whose chair remained the longest unoccupied. The causes of the Vandal persecutions lay in the contrast of the confessions themselves, the passionate nature of an equatorial people, in the untamed inconsiderateness of the Vandals, and in the forced foundation of their realm; furthermore, the excesses were prompted by greed, for the goods of the banished could be confiscated, and by political motives, because the Libyan Catholics involuntarily sided with the Catholic emperors.

The Visigoths acted differently. To the time of Euric (466–484), they were entirely tolerant. But when that sovereign began to extend his dominions by arms, and realized that the bishops were everywhere the centres of resistance, a complete change set in. The king banished the bishops, and commanded their sees to remain vacant. Many Catholic churches were seized and made over to Arianism. But the need of a well-organized episcopacy soon began to be felt. At the intercession of several of its friends, peace was restored, and the bishops allowed to return to their vacant sees. The founding of the Frankish Kingdom and Clovis's baptism had great influence on the neighboring states. Burgundian and Visigothic bishops entered into more or less traitorous correspondence with the Catholic king. Notwithstanding his mildness, Euric's successor, Alaric II., had to punish individual heads of the Church, while otherwise he labored to unite Church and state. When the state moved its centre to Spain, the same fairly good relations continued, except under Leovigild. Against him his son, Hermenigild, rose in rebellion, essentially aided by the orthodox bishops. When the king won the upper hand, the most dangerous ringleaders were punished with loss of possessions, privileges, and freedom, but his main efforts were directed to reconciliation. With this issue, Arianism in Spain went to its grave.

Orthodoxy fared yet better among the Ostrogoths of Italy. Theodoric treated it with the greatest moderation and discretion, protected its churches in all their privileges, made them gifts, and held them in honor. But even here the sparks were gleaming beneath the ashes, and this all the more strongly that with Justin and Justinian men ascended the Byzantine throne who violently extirpated heresy from their land, and

strive for full reconciliation with the Western Church. From that time the clergy of Italy inclined toward the East, and the mistrust of the Gothic king was awakened. As the senatorial nobles came more and more to the front as leaders of the national opposition, so the Catholic priesthood became the head of the religious, and contributed no little to the ruin of the heretical kingdom. It is thus that we find during the war with Byzantium, even under the tolerant Totilas, harsh measures adopted against traitorous Catholic priests. And yet, even at this time, the king still prayed in St. Peter's, and visited St. Benedict. On the other hand, the Arian priests favored the Goths. The Byzantine commanders drove the whole Arian priesthood out of beleaguered Rome because they suspected them of having pasted up for public perusal letters of the Gothic king. These priests must have been Romans, as the Goths had long left the city.

The successors of the Goths—the Langobardi or Lombards—stormed in as conquerors, bringing with them a somewhat barbarous form of Arianism that looked with avidity on the riches of the Catholic Church. They gained such considerable resources, that in nearly every city an Arian bishop was to be found at the side of the orthodox bishop. But only the more were the eyes of the provincials directed to the papacy, so that Rome gradually again rose to be the national and spiritual centre of unity, and, despite all opposition, the hereditary capital of the land, before which the glories of the metropolitan cities, Milan, Ravenna, and Aquileia, grew pale and faded. In Authari's spouse, the Catholic Theodelinde, and their daughter, the pope found trustworthy confederates. Conversions became so frequent that Authari had to issue an interdict against the Catholic baptism of Lombard children. The pope, on the other hand, instigated the Milanese against letting themselves be coerced by Agilulf or any Arian bishop. Despite all obstacles, Theodelinde effected the Catholic baptism of her son, for whom she undertook the government. The Catholic rule proved transient, for, with Adalwald, Arianism returned to power, and enjoyed a faint second summer under Rothari.

The Burgundians were greatly influenced by the neighboring state of the Goths. Toleration, nay faint-heartedness, existed on the part of the Arian Burgundians; on the other side, a leaning toward the Franks. Some bishops who subjected themselves to the suspicion of treason, evaded punishment by flight.

Everywhere the same picture presents itself. So long as the government was Arian the Catholics were bad, nay dangerous, subjects, for their strong spiritual pride could not brook subjugation. Although, therefore,

they shrewdly accommodated themselves to the inevitable, they nevertheless awaited the time either to convert the government, or boldly to call in another, and that a Catholic one. At the same time, the horror of an Arian reaction often awoke the fear of the Orthodox. "Suppose," says Bishop Avitus, "we make over the heretical churches to the Catholics, the heretics will, with justice, see persecution in this, and what could be worse for us than that those who perish through their notorious perverseness should be able to flatter themselves that they are martyrs for their creed. We can regard nothing as unchangeable. It is possible that an Arian king may succeed the present one. Or what if one of the neighbor kings makes us pay in his land in our own coin for what his priests have to endure here?" But when Catholicism was confident of its victory, it gave up such reflections to throw itself exultingly on the relics of the hated, doomed sectaries.

The superiority of Catholicism in doctrine, mental capacity, and sensibility, found a secure foundation in the stupendous organization by which it had overspread the country. The framework of the whole was the episcopate—the divinely appointed agency for salvation. Through the pressure of the heretics the feeling of unity was strengthened, and all eyes were directed more and more to the first of ecclesiastical princes—the Pope. The reverence for the successor of Peter so gained in intensity that Gaul, in the Fifth Century, recognized him as the supreme ecclesiastical, judicial and law-giving authority, and the pope gained complete mastery over the Frankish Church. In the Catholic Church the organization was thoroughgoing—from the relation of the bishop downward to the clergy and laity, and upward to the metropolitan and pope. The bishops were chosen with the utmost circumspection. They were all able, adroit men, the exponents of Roman culture. Everything proved well fitted and prepared.

Arianism presents many points of difference from the Catholic Church. It constituted a national Church, Catholicism, an international one. The latter was all-embracing, and unified through common interests, which raised it above the sphere where it happened to be; the former was indissolubly bound to locality, and tied to particular inimical states. There was no common understanding or community of interest between its branches, and consequently little or no unity. To this it is to be added, that this Church had no support against a domineering monarchy that elevated, degraded, or punished its priesthood at pleasure. Here and there the bishop of the capital won a sort of supremacy, but in competition with the crown this could never rightly assert itself. It was the same with the synods which were occasionally held. That the clergy,

notwithstanding, possessed great influence was due to the dignity of their office. The African persecution was instigated by them, and carried on under their directions. Salvian says: "In default of other virtues, the barbarians at least believed all that their priests taught them."

Above all, it was disastrous for Arianism that the Germans brought it into an Empire already fully occupied, and where, consequently, there was no proper place for it. In each of the more important cities there was already a Catholic bishop, and the Arian had either to be settled beside him, or located in a less important town. Then the pastors of the old faith had tradition on their side, as well as the mass of the people, while the Arians were few in number, and living mostly remote from their bishops, as landowners in the country. Under these circumstances the number of Arian bishops soon dwindled, so as to be almost insignificant as compared with that of their rivals. Besides, the Roman clergy enjoyed the advantage of an ancient culture, while the Arian priesthood were often uncultivated, less spiritually minded, and spoke an uncouth dialect. The freer position of the former, moreover, and their greater ability to fall back for support on the temporal government, conferred an influence which was denied the Arians. The German priest was, indeed, more complaisant to the king, for whom he reserved a special place at the Holy Communion, so that he drank out of a chalice different from that presented to the rest of his people. But Catholicism was not idle; it reserved for the government wide-stretching privileges, especially in its synods and the nomination to sees. It derived the right of kings from the immediate will of God, but only on condition of their orthodoxy. The world-conquering organization of the Catholic Church, and its skillful practice, far surpassed the resources of the undeveloped German polity.

From all these and from other causes the Catholic form of the faith spread in ever-widening circles. Conversion was made easy; the mere imposition of hands sufficed. Arianism, on the other hand, demanded a second baptism that burdened the conscience.

In the whole course of the revolution, one important factor in the Church was up to this time scarcely apparent in German history. This factor was woman. The Catholic faith appealed to her emotional temperament, and won her entire devotion, making her a ready instrument; her children, even when the father was an unbeliever, were generally baptized. What the Burgundian Clotilda was to her husband and people, were the Bavarian Theodelinde and her daughter to the Langobardi; the Frankish Bertha to the Anglo-Saxons; Caretene (Hilperic's wife) to the Burgundians; the Frankish Clotilda and Ingunthis, as well

as Theodosia (Leovigild's first wife), to the Visigoths. Their pious efforts brought them often into peril. Her Arian husband caused Clotilda to be pelted with filth, and Ingunthis had to endure much ill usage. In strong contrast with the fast faith and devotion of the Catholic daughters of royalty stands, not seldom, the pliancy of the Arian women. Brunehilde, as well as Galeswintha, went over to the confession of their husbands. It is peculiar how this trait of feminine enthusiasm runs through the whole history of the Catholic church, beginning with the first martyrs. The work of their Frank ancestresses was carried to the East by German princesses of the later Middle Ages, who became the wives of heathen Slavic princes, and to this day the Church depends more on female than on male worshippers. It seems as if the sex might well thank the Church for elevating the wife to be the equal of the husband.

Arianism became less and less the fashion. What contributed not a little to this was the policy of Catholics of calling unceasingly upon heaven for aid, of seeing miracle after miracle attesting the truth of their creed, and of ascribing all Catholic successes, as well as Arian misfortunes, to religious belief. Saints, living and dead, labored for the salvation of souls. St. Martin, in particular, continued unwearied after death as in life. The cure he effected in Spain of the leprous son of the Suevic king converted both ruler and people. The Arian priests, on the other hand, bungled awkwardly in trying to imitate the miracles of the Catholics. Gregory of Tours tells us that when King Leovigild demanded of one of his bishops why he, too, did not work miracles, the holy man called secretly on one of his heretic companions and gave him forty pieces of gold to appear publicly as a blind man. When the king passed where he stood, the bishop set about restoring his sight. In the midst of a thick crowd, he laid his hands upon him, saying: "Be it to thee according to thy faith." Thereupon the man became actually blind and exposed the fraud. History does not tell us why the king and his people remained unmoved by such an affront to their faith. Many similarly conclusive proofs are cited, but we must refer the curious reader to the tomes in which they are recorded.

Ridiculed on all sides, and their best efforts to cope with the skill of their rivals generally resulting in their own disadvantage, the Arians could not but begin to lose faith in themselves. The Catholics were in harmony with the spirit of the times in believing in the personal interposition of God and the saints, and thus thrived at the expense of the Arians, who had no such vivid convictions.

While the Catholic Frankish state was ripening into its world-embracing destiny, the Arian kingdoms of the Ostrogoths and Vandals

collapsed after a short period of prosperity. In 516, the Catholic Sigismund ascended the throne of the Burgundians; in 586, the Catholic Reccared, that of the Visigoths; in 653, the Catholic Aripert, that of the Lombards. As early as 560, under Theodemir, the one true faith was accepted as the state religion of the Suevi.

The Catholic faith had fought out one of its greatest victories: to it belonged the future.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE KINGDOM OF THE VANDALS.

HISTORICAL SOURCES.

BOTH Latin and Greek writers have left accounts of the Vandals—the former mainly of the flourishing period of their kingdom; the latter, of its decline and fall. Both wrote, for the most part, as contemporaries, the Greeks in a learned, rhetorical, and superficial style. The Roman works are less finished, but richer in information and more penetrating.

The closely related narrative of the Spaniard Idacius (to 467) and of Prosper of Aquitaine (to 455)—who continued that of St. Jerome—show us the Vandals in Spain and their further relations with that land, as well as the circumstances that brought them into the heart of the Western world. For the later times of the kingdom the chronicle of the African Bishop Victor of Tunnuna is of high value, though his chronology is often at fault. Orosius is well-informed regarding their settlement in Spain; while the letters of St. Augustine show the condition of Africa immediately before the conquest. The most important document, however, in the Latin tongue is the book of Victor, Bishop of Vita, “Concerning the Persecution of the Vandals”—lacking in form, couched in the rudest speech, and full of passion against his Arian oppressors, but rich in personal experiences or well-certified facts. Of the same class is “The Life of St. Fulgentius”; while the works of the poet Dracontius, and of the panegyrists, Sidonius Apollinaris and Merobaudes, occasionally afford rich material. The most of these writers see everything from a Roman point of view, and, while seeing in the victories of the Germans only the righteous judgments of God for the sins of their countrymen, yet regard these victories only as destruction and ruin. It is otherwise with Salvian of Marseilles, who represents the barbarians as called by God to victory and conquest on account of their superior virtues. His work “Concerning the Dispensations of Providence” (*De Gubernatione Dei*) is pervaded by a spirit of freshness—almost of poetry—and is all the more valuable on account of its largeness of view.

The Greek authorities, who at times furnish information, are Priscus, Malchus, Olympiodorus, Candidus, and, above all, Procopius of Caesarea

in Palestine, who accompanied Belisarius into Africa. He begins his history: "Procopius of Caesarea has described the wars which the Emperor Justinian conducted against the barbarians, both those who dwell in the East and those in the West, and he is himself fully informed in regard to everything that can be of most avail for the work, inasmuch as he stood by the side of Belisarius as his counsellor and personally took part in almost all that occurred." Procopius shows himself to be a man of culture, a close observer, and an excellent narrator. His chief model is Herodotus, but in his history of the Goths Thucydides is also copied. With his whole soul he lived in the past, almost inaccessible to the new ideas of Christianity. Sectarian strife and fights about confessions were hateful to him. In his views he was fatalistic, a frequent expression with him being "it was decreed by fate," etc. In regard to what he saw he is trustworthy; where he had to depend on report his testimony is of various worth. On the whole, he is less informed in regard to the history of the West, than of the occurrences in the Byzantine court. Sometimes he is silent from fear. In point of ability Procopius and Priscus may be considered the last Byzantine writers not unworthy to be classed with the great ancients.

On the whole, the authentic sources of information are sufficient to enable us to do without later garbled or mythical accounts, as those of Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Fredegar, and others. The history of Victor of Carthage, used by Marcus in his *Histoire des Vandales* and by Felix Dahn in his *Könige der Germanen*, is a forgery. Finds of coins here and there supplement the written narratives.

THE VANDALS IN AFRICA (A. D. 429-534).

The history of the Vandals is in keeping with the restless nature of the people, ever prompting them to new enterprises. Under the hot sun of Africa they soonest developed, and there perished earliest.

Roman Africa had almost nothing, save locality, in common with that of to-day. It was populous, fertile, and highly cultivated. Bald, snow-crowned mountains and glowing wastes of sand alternated with stretches of rich farm-land, intersected by roads and dotted with cities. The land and its inhabitants were full of contrast. Carthage was notorious for its debauchery, vices, and gambling; but not less famed for its schools and intellectual activity. Side by side with voluptuousness and frivolity there unfolded itself an earnest, almost an impassioned, religious life. The climate was healthy, winterless, and bearable in summer.

The region still capable of culture comprised endless fruitful tracts.

An aqueduct marks the site of the most southern Roman town (Sala, 34° N.). That of Carthage, 74 miles long, and 120 feet high, might be reckoned among the wonders of the world. Remains of such works, almost without number, are to be found extending deep into the interior. Even to this day the dwellers in many a wretched Arab village draw water from ancient fountains and cisterns, and where now are only barren deserts, there remain traces of canals and embankments, showing that at one time these wastes bloomed in fertile luxuriance. The crops yielded one-hundred-and-fifty-fold. The grape-vine yielded two vintages each year. In the beginning of the Sixth Century, the poet Luxorius still celebrated the hedge-rows musical with song of birds, and the streamlets flowing between mossy banks. Africa supplied a large proportion of the Mediterranean markets with corn, vegetables, fruits, fowls, horses, and purple dyes. To these are to be added wild beasts for the shows, beautiful yellow marble (used by Justinian in the construction of St. Sophia, in Constantinople), ivory, and wood of the cypress tree. The last was esteemed so valuable that a single table of it brought more than \$75,000. The population was in keeping with the fertility and wealth of the country, the main mass consisting of Romanized natives and immigrant Roman provincials. They lived in splendid cities or in scattered hamlets. Above all towered Carthage, nearly rivalling Rome in extent, and with about a million inhabitants. The temple of the "Heavenly Juno," (the old Punic Astarte), was environed by structures sacred to all the other deities, and was approached by an avenue (the Heavenly Street) over two miles long, bordered by columns of costly stones and paved with mosaic. But now all these glories are departed. Carthage for centuries served as a quarry, which was likewise the fate of its smaller sister cities in whose neighborhood later towns arose. All the more explicitly do the ruins lying in secluded districts testify to the flourishing condition and wealth of the Roman commonwealth. Those of the ancient Uthina cover three miles, those of Seressita, a town not once mentioned in antique literature, are still greater, while those of Thubursicum are among the most important in Algiers. The once luxuriant vale of the Bagradas is overgrown with reeds and brush or converted into a lifeless steppe, and yet, to this day, at every step one comes on ruins of temples, baths, and water-courses. Stone-built amphitheatres are to be traced in more than twenty African towns, and the remains of statues and sepulchral monuments are simply incalculable. In the warm baths of Shershell a large number of marble statues have been found, modelled after famed originals. Everywhere were decorations in painting, mosaic, and sculpture. In Africa, also, we meet with that

possession of the ancient world for art, which to us is almost fabulous; and yet here we have to do with a period of decay.

There were about six hundred bishoprics in Africa, and a rich ecclesiastical literature duly arose, culminating in the writings of St. Augustine. The Church was split into two sects—the Orthodox and the adherents of Donatus—and these persecuted each other with deadly hate.

Besides the Romanized and Roman provincials, the old indigenous population of the Libyan or Berber stock maintained themselves, partly, in their hereditary way, as pure nomads—poor, hardy, and untamable, always ready for robbery. They had been subdued in part by the Carthaginians, and won over to husbandry, which was further developed under the Roman sway.

The defence of the double province—Africa-Numidia—was committed by the Romans to the Third Legion with its auxiliaries, their standing camp being first at Theveste, but thereafter transferred to Lambaesis. On the outskirts they were distributed among the forts and towers covering the southern border, which stretched in a wide curve from the desert of Tripoli to the southeast frontier of Mauretania, for here was the region of the independent tribes.

The West remained distinct from the East. In Mauretania, Rome confined herself essentially to the coasts and cities. In the interior, there were few means of communication, and here only light-armed auxiliaries were stationed. The level country was under the sway of chiefs whose connection with Rome was loose and precarious. On the whole, the Roman hold on Mauretania was not calculated to withstand a vigorous assault. And it was precisely from this quarter that, as we have already seen, the attack came through the Vandals. All the disaffected elements, Donatists and Moors, streamed towards the Arians and enemies of the emperor, while, at the same time, the struggle between Aëtius and Boniface crippled the military strength of Rome. By the peace of 435, the Vandals were left in possession of their conquest, which constituted the greatest part of the granary of the Empire. Carthage still remained Roman, and might have been put into a complete state of defence, but this was neglected. Light-minded as children, the people kept wrangling over creeds. On a sudden, the terrible Genseric came. Carthage fell, was plundered, and was made the capital of the Vandal kingdom. Restless, adventurous, and hungry for booty, the conquerors threw themselves on the sea. Soon their fleets cruised in all directions. Even the "Eternal City" succumbed, and, in the meantime, the conquest of Africa was completed. Genseric held sway from the confines of Cyrene to the Columns of Hercules, as well as over Sicily (cf. Fig. 118), Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Isles.

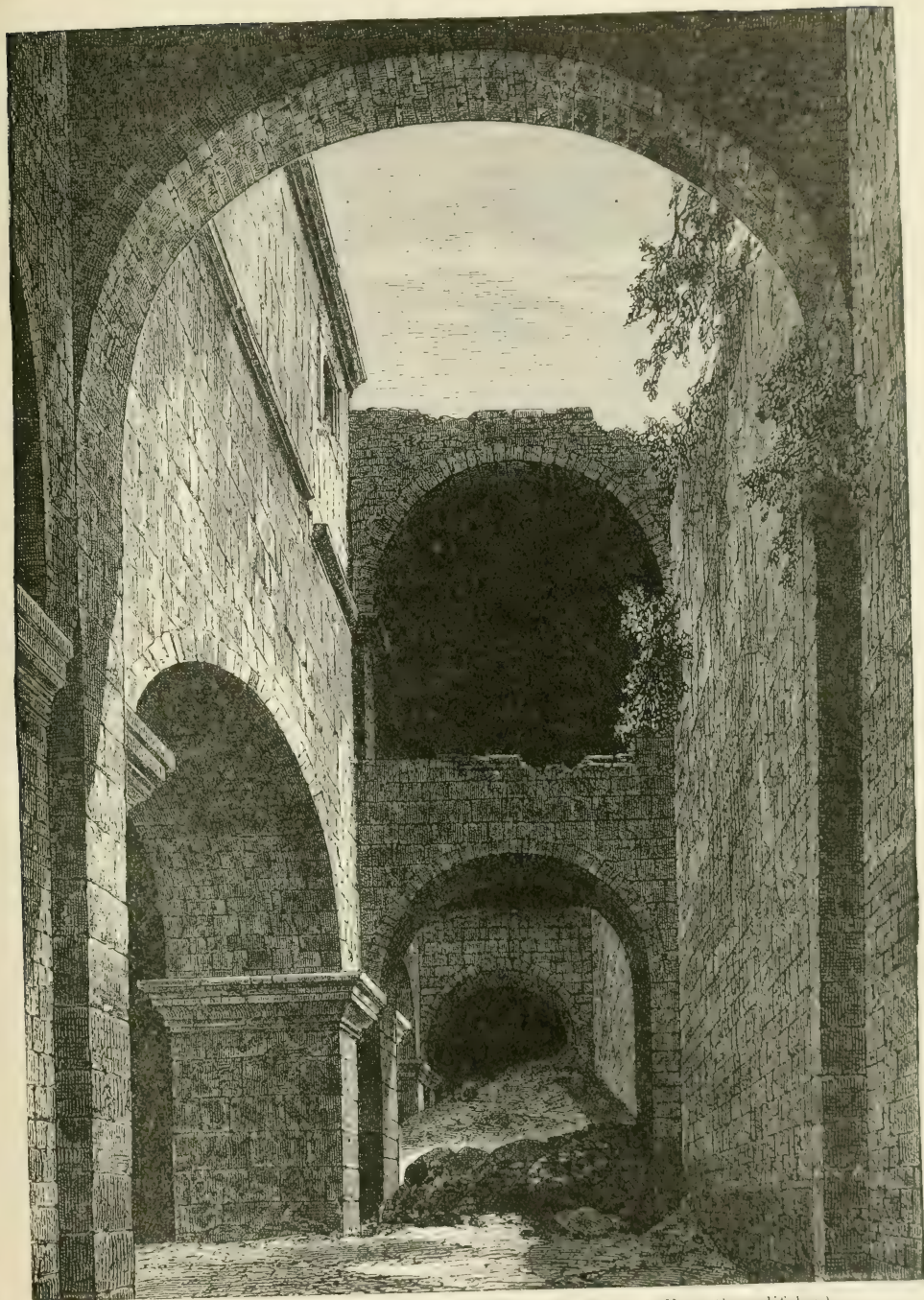


FIG. 118.—Ruins of the Amphitheatre at Catana in Sicily. (From Serradifaleo.)

The Vandal kingdom was now the dominant power of the Mediterranean; its ruler was allied by marriage with the imperial court, and he cast his eyes toward Italy, the fallen mistress of the world. Here another son of Germany strove to bar his way—the Suevian Ricimer; but he had no fleet and was obliged, therefore, to remain on the defensive, while the Vandals sought by incessant raids and plunderings so to enfeeble Italy that it might fall, depopulated and exhausted, an easy prey into the hands of its conquerors. With the same view, Genseric intervened in the political disorders of the land, and succeeded in seeing Olybrius, the father-in-law of his son Huneric, seated on the throne of the Caesars. But the rule of Olybrius was of brief duration. He died, and the German mercenaries elevated Odoacer in his stead.

In the midst of all, the Vandals so managed that Africa remained unmolested, and they themselves were left to establish their rule in peace. Only once did danger threaten, when the East and West allied themselves for a common war. The common enemy was to be attacked at three points—Sardinia, Tripoli, and Carthage. Sardinia and Tripoli were conquered and Carthage was threatened with a superior force, when the wily Genseric had skill enough to negotiate an armistice, during which he surprised the Roman fleet at night and annihilated it. The enterprise was thus utterly defeated. On one occasion, when the king ordered the anchor to be weighed, and the pilot asked against whom he was to steer, Genseric is said to have answered: “Against those who have provoked the wrath of God.”

But the power of the Vandals and of their grasping lord seems gradually to have lost somewhat of its preponderance. In 474, a so-called “everlasting peace” was concluded with the Byzantine Emperor Zeno, by the terms of which the Vandals bound themselves to desist from all further attacks on the Empire, while the Romans renounced all attempts to recover their lost supremacy. These terms remained intact until Justinian. Terms were also made with the West Roman patrician, Orestes, and when power devolved on Odoacer, the greater part of Sicily was given up to him. When the two German potentates thus joined forces, the Byzantines were shut out from the western basin of the Mediterranean.

Soon thereafter, in January, 477, Genseric died, after having reigned fifty years in all, and thirty-seven years after his capture of Carthage. To him the Vandals owed their greatness, to attain and maintain which he deemed every means justifiable. He and Theodoric were regarded as the foremost German kings. Both were great, not only as warriors and founders of states, but also as administrators and law-givers; both

assumed the difficult duty of identifying the interests of their own people with those of the natives. With the Moors, Genseric knew how to live on the best of terms, while his relations to the provincials were often strained. Many of these had lost their possessions to their conquerors, whom, being Catholics themselves, they hated as Arian heretics. For this, a bloody reckoning was held with them in the taking of Carthage, as well as later, and yet Genseric observed some moderation, and at times favored the Orthodox, especially during the last years of his reign. From the conclusion of the "everlasting peace," he permitted them free exercise of their religion, even in the capital, Carthage, whither the banished clergy streamed back.

The gross number of the Vandals and confederate Germans was, on their landing, probably about 80,000. This number was reduced during their wars, but was afterward raised, by natural increase and immigration, to some 200,000, of whom 30,000 to 40,000 were warriors. These possessed, as a rule, hereditary lands, free of imposts, as well as a share in the booty taken in war. Above the freemen stood the nobility—first, the old nobility, who, in earlier times, had ranked almost with the king, but who, on account of plots, were much thinned by Genseric; and, second, the official nobility selected from the freemen in their stead, to whom was entrusted the administration, civil, judicial, and military. At the head of all was the king, whose supreme authority in war was his most prominent function. In virtue of the concentration in his person of the powers of the German folk- and army-king and those of the Roman emperor, his authority had become nearly absolute, for he was the richest land-owner, and the supreme judge; he named ecclesiastical and state officials, had sole right of coinage and taxation, and determined, in the last resort, on all ecclesiastical matters, as well as those concerning war and peace. As he had become lord of the land by conquest, he appears on his coins crowned with a diadem, which even Theodoric omitted. The constitution of the country—essentially Roman—was adopted, with its bureaucratic machinery and all other institutions. In order to make the monarchy practically absolute, Genseric substituted the principle of seniority for that of election in determining the succession to the throne, enacting that "the sovereignty shall ever pass to him who is the oldest of the male line." Nothing shows more clearly the degree of power to which the "imperial monarchy" had now attained, than the fact that the people, whom this law deprived of the power of concurrence in the election of an heir, maintained it inviolate.

For a time the Vandal was the richest and strongest of all the German states. Its internal relations were favorable; the provincials were

contented, submissive, and unwarlike; the masses were less affected by the occasional religious severities than they had been by the Roman tax-and-recruiting-systems, and the caprice of officials. The Vandals more and more appreciated the culture of the provincials, many of whom accordingly attained high stations in the state and court. Although Genseric had considered it prudent to cause the walls of all the cities, with the exception of Carthage, to be thrown down, its walls also were allowed to sink into ruins, while the country-towns gradually fortified themselves. Notwithstanding, we hear nothing of disaffection or revolt on the part of the provincials. On the outskirts, the government was defended by an army of light cavalry, composed of the fair-haired sons of the North and the dusky children of the desert, while the forests of Corsica and Sardinia afforded material for the fleet which proudly ruled the Western Mediterranean. And yet the glorious structure stood on sand.

The dangers that threatened the kingdom were manifold—climate, the scanty number of the Vandals, the will of Genseric, the unrenounced claim of the Byzantine emperor, Catholicism, and the Moors. An able and circumspect policy was required, but the opposite was pursued. The inability to resist foreign influences, and the slender talent for state-organization were fully apparent in the foreigners who had drifted so far from home.

Genseric was succeeded by his eldest son Huneric (477–484), a man of narrow, violent nature, under whom the Vandal lust for action vented itself in mutual destruction, while its defensive strength decreased. The government gave ground to the Eastern Empire, and, while combating the Moors, it could no longer drive them from Numidia.

On the other hand, Huneric (Fig. 119) was at open war with his own relations, with the view of insuring the succession to his son. The Catholics, after being first tolerated, were mercilessly persecuted. Once, indeed, the king attempted an accommodation on the terms of their accepting the confession of Rimini, but it was in vain. Orthodoxy set at naught the hardest measures that could be taken against it. The conviction that Genseric's order of the succession would be maintained, seems to have aggravated the violence of Huneric, till he was removed by death, December 11, 484.

The distracted kingdom fell now to Gunthamund (Fig. 120), his eldest nephew (484–496). An antagonistic branch of the family came with him to the helm, and with it a change in the mode of government. After some timid restrictive measures, their churches were restored to the Catholics. In the meantime, the Moors were pressing forward, and Sicily seems to have been abandoned.

Gunthamund was followed by his brother Thrasamund (496–523), distinguished alike in mind and body (Fig. 121), who once more exalted the power of the state by his marriage with the widowed Amalafrida, the sister of Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths. Her dowry consisted of the important Sicilian promontory, Lilybaeum, and she was accompanied home by 1000 noble Goths, who were followed by 5000 horsemen. The German kingdoms went politically hand-in-hand now, while the Emperor Anastasius, well-disposed toward Arianism, reigned in Byzantium. Thrasamund sought less to persecute the Catholics than to undermine them by shaking their faith. A severe defeat at the hands of the Tripolitan Moors darkened the close of his reign.

On his death in 523, the Vandal throne was mounted by Huneric's son, Hilderic (523–530), as narrow-minded as his father, but of less



FIG. 119.—Coin of Huneric.



FIG. 120.—Coin of Gunthamund.



FIG. 121.—Coin of Thrasamund.



FIG. 122.—Coin of Hilderic.

(From J. Friedländer.)

energy (Fig. 122). Advanced in years, he was king rather of the court than of the army, the leading of which he gave over to his relative Hoamer, an action which deprived him of the respect and regard of his people. Thrasamund's leaning toward the Ostrogoths seems to have bred deep dissatisfaction among a part of the Vandals, and still more among the Africans, to stem which Hilderic was not the man. Amalafrida with her Goths had to flee to Mauretania. Defeated in battle, she was captured and cast into prison for treason, where she met probably a violent death. The friendly relations of the brother-peoples were thus rent asunder, and the door opened for the destruction of both. As the son, not only of Huneric, but also of Endocia the daughter of the Catholic Emperor Valentinian III., Hilderic granted the Orthodox perfect freedom of worship; their bishoprics were reoccupied, synods, and even a national council were held. Frequent embassies went to Constantinople and came from it; nay, the Vandal appears to have

had coins struck with the figure of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian on one side. If this policy quickened the sympathies of many provincials, it must have hurt the feelings of his own people. When, on the Moors occupying almost the whole province of Byzacena, and the king's general submitting to them, a new embassy set off for the East, the disaffection rose to an open breach. The head of the discontented party was Gelimer, great-grandson of Genseric and heir to the throne according to seniority. He summoned the foremost men of the Vandals, and laid before them the incapacity of Hilderic, whom he accused of desiring to make over the kingdom to the Byzantine emperor, so that he, who was sprung from another house, might not attain its crown. Hilderic was deposed and cast into prison with Hoamer, and Gelimer (530-534) was raised to the throne (Figs. 123, 124). That the revolution

was so easily accomplished shows how little hold Hilderic had on the people.

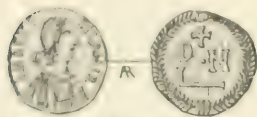
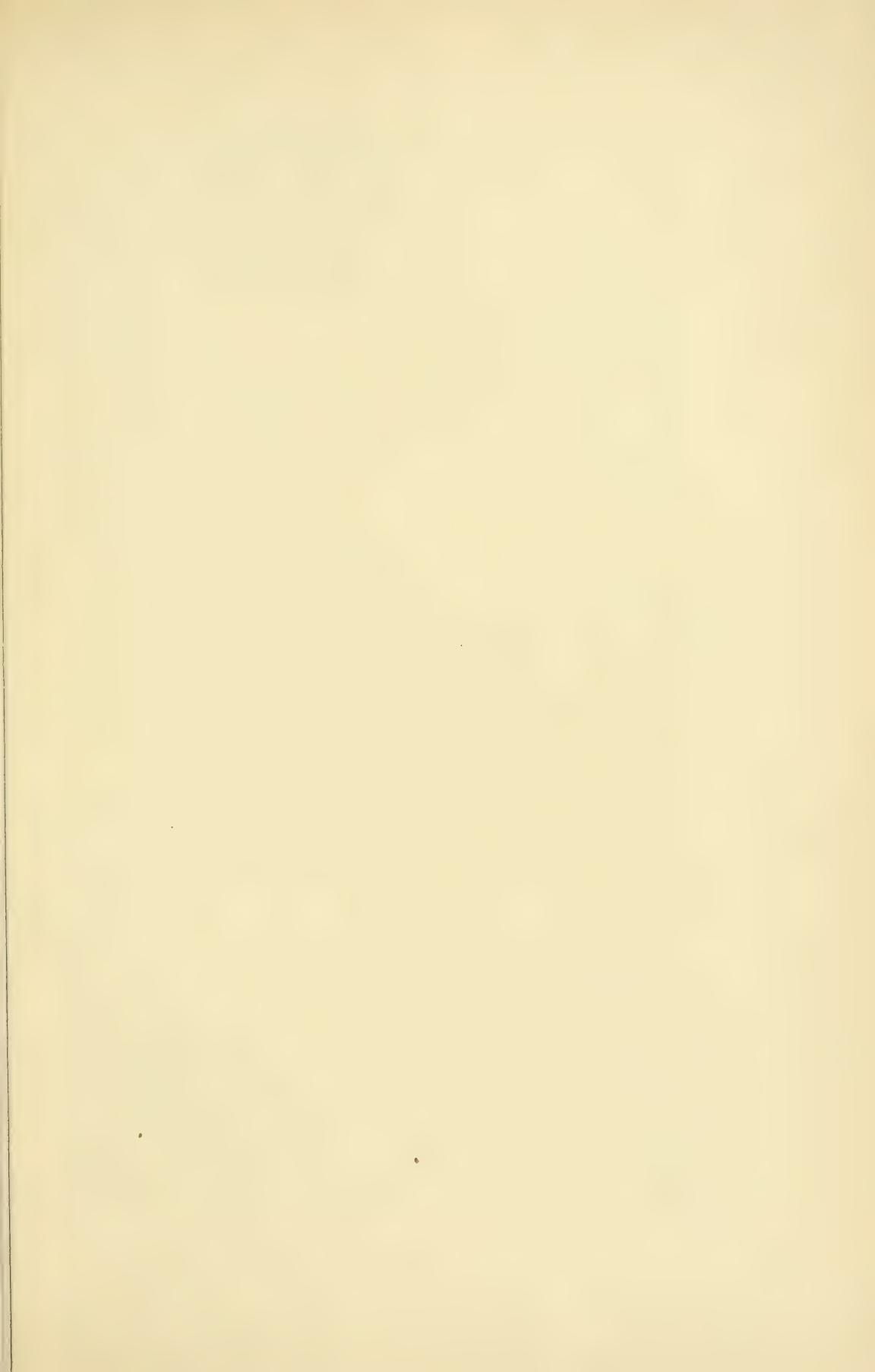


FIG. 123. Coin of Gelimer.
(From J. Friedländer.)

But Justinian (PLATE XXI.) took his part. When he learned the proceedings in Africa, he dispatched ambassadors, who demanded from Gelimer the liberation of Hilderic and his ostensible restoration. Gelimer replied by blinding Hoamer. Then came a second embassy. This left the throne to the present possessor, but demanded, on pain of war, the giving up of the dethroned king. "In this, the compact with Genseric will not hinder us; we will not make war on his legitimate successor but will avenge him." Gelimer replied that Justinian had better mind his own affairs.

After some delay, the emperor decided for war. He possessed abundant resources in money, a good army, and, in Belisarius, an excellent general. Amalasuntha, queen of the Goths, was well disposed to him, and granted a free market in Sicily for the purchase of grain, horses, etc., whereby the enterprise gained a secure base. The Catholics of Africa appeared to have no good will to the Vandals in their defensive attitude. The aptitude of the latter for war had been enfeebled by high living, while the state was falling to pieces and the king was characterless. The changes on the throne gave rise to internal disorders. Tripoli and Sardinia revolted, and, on application to the emperor, were occupied by Byzantine troops.

Justinian's motley but well-trained army—10,000 foot and 5000 horse—left the port of Byzantium under Belisarius's leadership in June, 533. The Goths must have heard of his preparations, but they had not expected a descent in summer. Gelimer had already opened negotiations with the Visigoths. Belisarius's sudden departure was decisive,





The Emperor Justinian

Mosaic in San Vitale, Ravenna: ab



and his Attendants.

50 A. D. (From a photograph.)

for it prevented the Vandals from making use of their most powerful weapon, their corsair fleet. He struck their kingdom at the moment when Gelimer, not yet firmly seated, had made enemies by the execution of suspicious subjects, and, at the same time, had dispatched 5000 troops on 150 ships for the recapture of Sardinia, so that he now had neither adequate fleet nor army. Nowhere were there preparations for resistance.

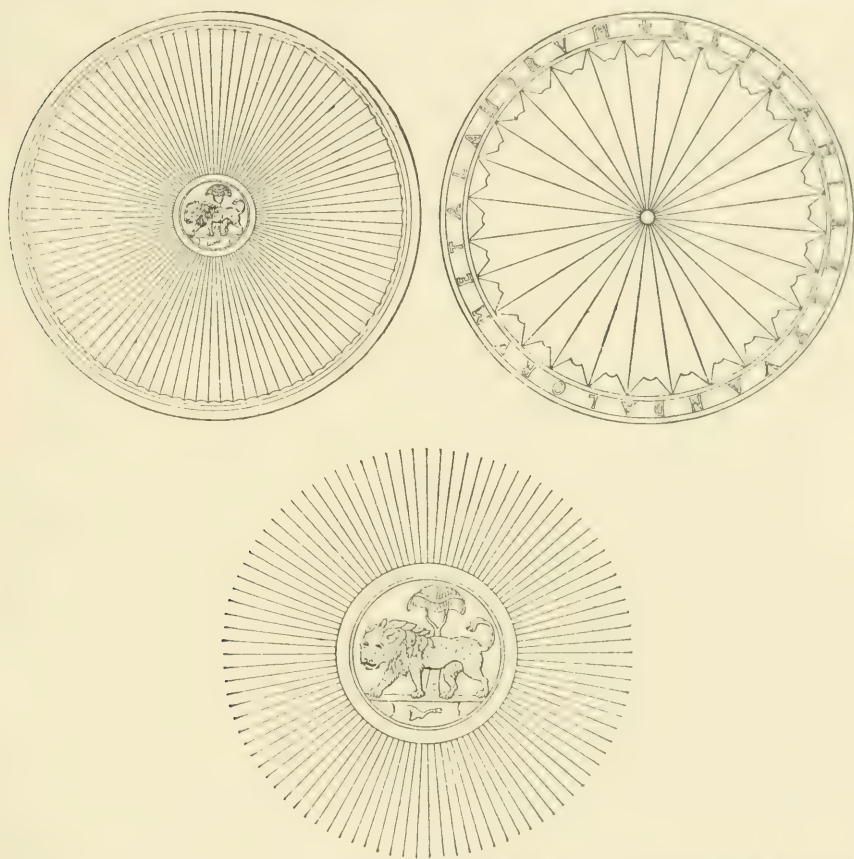


FIG. 124.—A missorium of Gelimer. Metallic shield with the African lion at the centre. On the margin of the inside: + GEILAMIR REX VANDALORVM ET ALANORVM. (Gaz. Archéol.)

Gelimer was gaily passing the time in Hermione, which lay four days' journey inland.

Belisarius landed without opposition. He declared that he was waging war only on Gelimer and not on the Vandals. His protestations had no effect on the Vandals, who remained true to their king. With the

provincials they were so far effective that these supplied him with provisions and remained neutral.

Covered on both flanks by light troops, and accompanied by his fleet, Belisarius advanced slowly along the shore toward Carthage. Scarcely had Gelimer heard of the landing when he caused Hilderic to be put to death, collected all the able-bodied Vandals, and determined on a plan for surrounding the enemy at the hill of Decimum near the capital. Sallying from the city, his brother, Ammatas, was to assail them in front; two thousand Vandals under Gibamund should fall on their flank; while he himself was to deliver the decisive stroke on their rear. The plan was well adapted to the country, but presumed simultaneousness of action at three different points, and divided the Vandal army, which was by no means strong, into three parts. This last defect was redeemed by a blunder of Belisarius, who, out of dread of risking too much, caused his infantry to intrench themselves, while he advanced reconnoitring with all his cavalry. Evidently he expected the Vandals to attack him in front, but Gelimer approached obliquely in the rear and was thus in a position to throw himself between Belisarius and the infantry and to cut the Greek army in two.

The rashness of Ammatas was fatal to himself and his country. Too precipitately he struck with a few followers upon the enemy's van, and, after a desperate hand-to-hand conflict, was routed and himself slain. His band, demoralized, threw themselves on their main body and carried it in confusion along with them, pursued by the murderous sword of the victor. No better was the fate of Gibamund's command, which was shattered by the Massagetæ on the flank. In the meantime, Gelimer, concealed by the mountain-ranges, and advancing between the camp of the infantry and the Massagetæ, had passed beyond the main body of Belisarius's division and had fallen upon its extreme rear, consisting of confederates. The struggle was for possession of a hill. The Vandal horsemen reached it before their foes, overthrew them, and saw them fleeing in full gallop to the main body. It was the decisive moment. If the Vandals had followed up their success, they might, in the first surprise, have dispersed the enemy. Had they turned off toward Carthage they might have caught the van engaged in plundering, formed a junction with the remains of Ammatas's army, and with their united forces, covered Carthage. Nothing of all this was done. Gelimer found the body of his brother, and lost valuable time in bewailing his death and interring his corpse.

The Byzantine general, having stayed the fugitives, was now in a position to open his attack. Without a struggle, the Vandals gave up

their cause and fled toward Numidia. Night only put an end to the pursuit. Carthage lay open to the enemy. Gelimer's strange tactics are explained by the fact that in attacking a detachment of the enemy he thought he had engaged with its main body. This blunder wrecked his plan, so that instead of encircling the Byzantines he was encircled.

The capital remained absolutely quiescent, only that the Vandals fled for protection to the churches. Later in the evening, Belisarius appeared before the gates. These stood open, and the streets were lighted. When his fleet came in sight, the Carthaginians removed the chains that barred access to the harbor. The entry was unopposed and orderly. Quarters were assigned to the Greeks as formerly to the Vandals. Belisarius took his seat on the throne of Gelimer, and partook of the feast that had been prepared for the Vandal. Envoys appeared from the Moorish chiefs and acknowledged their new masters. By the end of the year, Justinian assumed the title of conqueror of the Alans, Vandals, and Africans.

But the end had not come as yet. Soon, men were busy over all the land equipping themselves for the decisive struggle. Among the population of the country an agitation went on in favor of the Vandals, who themselves assembled at Bulla, some four days' journey from the capital, where they were strengthened by Moorish reinforcements and the 5000 men with whom Gelimer's brother, Tzazon, had recaptured Sardinia, but who had been recalled in hot haste. When the two brothers met, they sank into each other's arms, and weeping on each other's breasts, held themselves locked in a long embrace. The armies followed their example, enjoying the bitter-sweet luxury of a common sorrow.

The progress and issue of this campaign were in keeping with its sentimental beginning. The Vandals advanced on Carthage to find that Belisarius had encompassed it with a wall and ditch that rendered it impregnable to cavalry. A small stream separated the armies. Only the Roman cavalry were on the ground, the infantry being still on the march. It seemed certain the Vandals would avail themselves of the opportunity to make their temporary superiority of effect; but instead of making a fierce onslaught they stopped on the bank of the river. The Romans drew up to meet them; for a long time the armies faced each other. At midday the Vandals suddenly sallied forth just as the Romans were preparing their dinner. Instead of throwing themselves in a body on the foe, they remained standing on the bank. The Romans advanced in order of battle, the flower of their troops, with the standard, under the Armenian, Johannes, in the centre, Belisarius supporting them. Long did the hosts stand facing each other without either opening the fight. At length it began with two skirmishing attacks by Johannes. As these

skirmishes on the part of the Romans did not have the desired effect, *Johannes* massed his troops and charged the enemy impetuously. A severe struggle ensued and many Vandals fell, among whom was *Tzazon*. Then the Romans advanced along the whole line; the Vandal centre began to waver, then broke, and shortly all were rushing in wild disorder to the camp. Without infantry *Belisarius* did not venture an assault; but on its arrival in the evening, the attack was at once ordered. When *Gelimer* saw the broad advancing lines he gave up his cause as lost. Without a word, he threw himself on his horse and galloped off in despair. Without a struggle the camp, with its incalculable treasures, fell into the hands of the victor. Had the Vandals been at all warriors and rallied even once, the easy success might not improbably have been converted into a disaster. The Roman soldiers, an impoverished mass, brought suddenly in contact with riches, gave themselves entirely up to greed and sensual enjoyment. *Belisarius* did not succeed in restoring order until the following day.

The African dominion of *Gelimer* was soon conquered. *Gelimer* himself took refuge in an inaccessible Moorish town on the farthest confines of *Numidia*. There he remained so harmless that *Belisarius* gave up the pursuit of him, and sent only a Herulian commander with a chosen band to prevent his escape or any one holding intercourse with him. The other possessions of the Vandals—*Sardinia*, *Corsica*, the *Balearic* isles, and *Mauretania*—were also taken possession of, and the whole realm was put under the Byzantine government and tax-system.

In the meantime, the Herulian kept watch over *Gelimer*. Winter came and aggravated his task. At last he decided that his simplest plan was to storm the rock-fast eyry. In the attempt, however, he met with a stubborn resistance on the part of the hardy Moors, and was repulsed with the loss of one hundred and ten men. But *Gelimer's* straits increased in the winter; his besieger offered him terms, which he disregarded. When the Herulian urged his countryman to submit himself to the emperor, who would show him high honor, he begged only for three things: a loaf of bread, for he had tasted none since his flight; a sponge, for his eyes were swollen with weeping; and a lyre to accompany himself in a song he had composed on his misfortunes. His wishes were complied with, but the watch was made more strict. At length *Gelimer's* passive resistance ceased. He offered to surrender if the emperor would make him a patrician and endow him with estates. *Belisarius* promised him generous treatment, whereupon the king descended from his fastness and followed the envoy to *Carthage*. When brought before *Belisarius* he

burst out in laughter. Some thought him crazy; others took it for the highest philosophy, for the fate of man deserved nothing else.

The Roman commander returned to Byzantium to receive testimonials of honor such as had not been bestowed for centuries. In triumph he proceeded through the city, accompanied by the priceless booty—golden thrones, the Jewish temple-furniture derived from the plundering of Rome, etc. Among the most seemly and tallest of the Vandals was Gelimer,¹ in purple raiment, murmuring to himself without ceasing: “Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.” The procession moved to the hippodrome, where stood the imperial throne, occupied by Justinian and Theodora. Here the king was stripped of his purple robes, and fell in the dust before their majesties. The deposed monarch received an estate in Galatia, but not the patriciate; while Belisarius was created consul, and celebrated a second triumph, in which, borne by Vandal captives, he cast Vandal treasures from the curule chair amongst the people.

The brilliant era in Africa had an inglorious close—to the benefit of neither the land nor the victors. Baleful conditions set in, Moorish wars, mutinies of soldiers, revolts of officials. Procopius (548) closes his record with these words: “Of the population of Africa, few were left remaining. After such great afflictions, they had peace at length. But at what a price! They were all beggars.”

From the landing of the Vandals, one hundred and five years had elapsed; from the subjugation of Carthage, ninety-five. Once these Germans had rushed on in the van of their brothers, and from Carthage had attained decisive influence over the states of the Mediterranean. No name was so dreaded as theirs; and now, after three generations, they had succumbed to a few regiments of cavalry. “Among all the races of mankind, the Vandals have become the most effeminate. From the time that they came into possession of Africa, they took warm baths daily, and had their tables supplied with all that was most beautiful and best. They wore many gold ornaments, clothed themselves in flowing silken garments, and passed their days in theatres, horse-racing, and similar diversions, but, above all, in the chase. Dancers and players, music and spectacles—whoever or whatever, in short could please the eye or ear—found a home with them. They lived in elegant gardens, ornamented with water-works and the finest trees. Nor were they less addicted to the joys of the wine-cup than to those of love.” This

¹ But a short time ago, an artistically wrought silver basin (Fig. 124) was found not far from Feltre, in Italy, weighing more than four pounds, and bearing the Latin inscription: “Geilamir, King of the Vandals and Alans.”

passage from Procopius seems almost like a picture from the *Thousand and One Nights*. The far-seeing Genseric had anticipated the danger, and the two laws of his preserved to us relate to tumults at the public games, and the suppression of lewdness.

Their last monarch appears, as it were, the representative of the degenerate Vandal. In his youth warlike and domineering, he became soft, theatrical, and sentimental. A volatile poetic nature, he let misfortune influence him, recovering, to be sure, but only again to despond. That his people were no better is proved by their cowardice before a weaker foe, as well as by the fact that they suffered such a king to lead them in the decisive battle.

The Vandals had lost faith in themselves, and thereby forfeited their right to further existence.



Map.—West Gothic Kingdom about 475 A. D.

CHAPTER XX.

THE KINGDOM OF THE VISIGOTHS.

(PLATE XXII.)

HISTORICAL SOURCES.

IN the exigencies of the times during which the kingdom of the Visigoths flourished, the spirit of historiography lay well-nigh dead. Although the Visigoths extended their sway over the most flourishing provinces of the West, no pen was found to depict their fortunes. Several bald annals, indeed, appeared which are little more than continuations of the chronicle of St. Jerome; only in Isidore of Seville, Julian of Toledo, and Johannes of Biclaro, do we meet with intellects of a somewhat higher order. But all these, save Johannes, were provincials. The Goths preferred to act rather than to describe their actions.

At the head of the annalists stands the Lusitanian Orosius, whose "Seven Books of Universal History Against the Heathen," come down to 417. The early history of the nation he mixes up with a Christian history full of fanciful and mystical ideas. For each period of time God had raised up a corresponding predominant Empire. Of these there were four¹ answering, mysteriously, to the four heavenly regions—a philosophy of history that prevailed through the whole Middle Ages.

The Aquitanian Prosper (379-455) and the Spaniard Idatius (379-469) simply continued St. Jerome's narrative. The later was Bishop of Aquae Flaviae (Chiaves); hence Spain, and especially Galicia, has a prominent place in his narrative. His account is meagre, indeed, but conscientious and trustworthy. Of quite another character is our main source for the reigns of Theodoric II. and Euric—the poems and letters, namely, of Sidonius Apollinaris, who died in 488. Descended from an eminent family of Southern Gaul, he had received a careful rhetorico-grammatical education, and, in his thirst for fame and vacillation of character, composed a panegyric on almost every one who rose to eminence, and yet he still felt himself a Roman. The *Miscellanies* (*Variae*) of Cassiodorus Senator, private secretary and minister of the Ostrogoth Theodoric, are of value for the later period of the Kingdom of Toulouse. Jordanes scarcely yields what one could expect from him. He closes

¹ Babylon, Macedon, Carthage, and Rome.—ED.

with King Athanagild. The chronicle of the African, Victor of Tunnum, is continued by that of the Spanish Goth, Johannes, from 566 to 590. Johannes, educated in Constantinople and as a Catholic, and persecuted by Leovigild, founded the abbey of Biclaro and rose to the episcopal chair of Gerona. Notwithstanding his uncouth style, his contributions are of the highest value on account of their fidelity and fulness of detail. He wrote of what he had been an eye-witness to or had learned from reliable sources. Side by side with him stands Isidore, Archbishop of Seville, with his "*Chronicle of the Visigoths, Vandals, and Suevi.*" In harmony with the six days of creation, his chronicle is divided into six ages of the world, the last age beginning with Christ—a device that found general acceptance and imitation. His work is a strongly-condensed compendium of the world's history from the creation to Sisebut in 620, and is continued in a few manuscripts to 626. In it a lively sympathy for the Visigothic land and people finds expression in homely speech. The work of Gennadius on Famous Men Isidore brought down to his own time. Isidore's pupil, Ildefonsus, Archbishop of Toledo, treats fourteen additional names, twelve of which are Spanish (mostly Archbishops of Toledo), but his continuation of his teacher's chronicle down to 667 is lost, though apparently it has supplied material for other sources. For the last days of the kingdom we have only the most insufficient information. The only ray of light penetrating this obscure period is the "*History of the Campaign of Wamba against Paulus*" by Julian of Toledo, probably composed immediately on its close. Although conceived in pompous style, it is still the most important historical prose work produced by the kingdom of the Visigoths. Of other works may be named the *Chronicle of Isidore Pacensis*, who records, in barbarous and nearly unintelligible Latin, the events of 610 to 754.

Supplementary to the above, but interwoven with myth, are the productions of Arab writers, who appear first in the Ninth Century, the earliest of them being Ibn Abd-el-Hakem with his "*History of the Conquest of Spain.*" He and other of his co-religionists may have made use of earlier authorities here and there.

The historians of neighboring lands also claim notice,—Procopius, Gregory of Tours, and Fredegar. It is to be remembered, however, that Gregory, while a contemporary, is strongly prejudiced in favor of the Franks, for he hated the heretical Goths. Fredegar's contribution is all the more valuable because it comprises a period which all native authorities ignore—that, namely, from Si-inanth's accession (631) to Kindaswinth. Unfortunately he is not always so trustworthy as might be wished.

To the narratives proper we must add contributions of another sort, namely, decrees of councils and law-books. These last elucidate the development of Gothic legislation. As yet there is no critical edition of the decrees of the councils, so that in some cases even their date is not as yet determined. The numerous finds of coins (which have been excellently ordered by A. Heiss), too, are to be taken into account as well as ecclesiastical structures and antiquarian discoveries, among which last the crown-treasures of Guarrazar shine with special brilliancy.

To sum up: Of the early days of the Kingdom of Toulouse we know little; as time advances, the light strengthens, till by the age of Leovigild our information is fairly satisfactory, though with gaps. The close of the kingdom is again either shrouded in utter darkness, or partially revealed to us in baldest outline, or through the misty haze of legends.

THE VISIGOTHIC KINGDOM OF GAUL (A. D. 418-531).

On the sunny banks of the Garonne, and on territory thoroughly Roman, the Visigoth had firmly planted his foot and made Toulouse his capital. The nation was a confederate of Rome, but its duty not unfrequently gave way before its spirit of independence and thirst for conquest. From time to time the Visigoths availed themselves of favorable conditions, either as the allies or enemies of their over-lord. On the whole, however, they were the most faithful of all the confederate immigrant races, even when the Hunno-Germanic wave threatened to overwhelm them.

King Theodoric I., who had reigned from 419 to 451, fell on the battlefield, where his followers raised his eldest(?) son, Thorismund (451-453), to the throne, who forthwith hurried to Toulouse to defend his dignity. Within two years there came a revolt, with his two brothers, Theodoric and Friedric, at its head. The conspirators assailed him as he lay in bed. Weaponless as he was, he seized a stool with which he stoutly defended himself till the deadly iron laid him low. It seems that he had shown himself too domineering toward his people, and too independent toward Rome.

The blood of their victim became the purple of his murderers. Theodoric II. (453-466) ascended the throne, who, with his fellow-conspirator, Friedric, inaugurated the most flourishing period in the history of the kingdom. He allied himself closely with the Empire. Then came the assassination of Valentinian and Maximus, and the power of the Empire seemed transferred to Gaul. Here the elements that maintained the state, the provincials and the German governments, coalesced.

They chose for their emperor one of their ablest military comrades, Avitus, the master of the forces, and the favorite of Toulouse. Italy and Byzantium acknowledged him. The Empire was visibly strengthened.

The first to discover this was Rekiar, king of the Suevi, who had carried his victorious arms to the Pyrenees. Rekiar was Theodoric's brother-in-law, yet it was by the Goths that Spain was restored to the Empire, and the Empire and the Goths worked together in closest harmony. When friendly negotiations proved fruitless, Theodoric, reinforced by Burgundians, attacked the enemy near Astorga, dispersed them after a weak resistance, and pursued them into the mountains of Galicia. Braga, the capital, fell, Lusitania was overrun; terror accompanied the victors, for, like all the fratricidal wars of the Germans in Spain, this was fought out with merciless bitterness. Rekiar fell by the hands of the executioner. The Suevian tribe had succumbed before Gallo-Germanic arms.

But when state and people seemed alike in the dust, there came a revolution in Italy, and that, too, through a son of the Suevi—Ricimer. Supported by the army and borne along by the Italian feeling against an Empire with Gaul as its centre, he struck down Avitus and elevated in his stead the vigorous Majorian. The union of Goth and Empire was rent asunder; Italy and Gaul faced each other as rivals and foes; Theodoric had to return home to guard his rights and make his claims effective.

For Spain it was of great advantage that the Goth had left the country ere the land was subdued. He left troops, indeed, behind him, reinforced them, and elevated to the throne a Suevian of the race of the Varini as his deputy. But he, aiming at independence, was put to death, and another set in his place. Soon also the native chiefs arose, and the land resounded with the clang of weapons, till Frumarius gained the upper hand, and, supported by Theodoric, succeeded in uniting the people as best he could.

In the meantime, matters had become lively in Gaul also. Theodoric had not recognized the change in the imperial throne, and, on this pretext, had attacked Arles, which had been the ambition of his predecessors. In vain: Majorian's master of the forces, Aegidius, relieved the city, and the Goths were compelled once more to assume the old relationship of confederates. Theodoric cherished ambitious plans: as these were shattered for the time being, the emperor was struck down by Ricimer, and, with that, Gaul was finally set free from the Empire. Aegidius on the one side, and the Germans on the other, both believed themselves discharged from their obligations, and came into collision. The Goths

renewed their attacks in Spain, got possession of Narbonne through treachery, and drove Aegidius northward to the Loire. Not far from Orleans a battle ensued; the Goths were defeated and their leader, Friedrich, slain. When on the point of following up his victory, death overtook Aegidius also; it was said, through poison. With him died the last general who raised the Roman shield against the assaults of the Goths. Now they were at liberty to secure their Gallic conquests. It was otherwise in Spain, where guerilla-wars alternated, as heretofore, with efforts for peace. When the Gothic ambassador, Sella, returned from the court of King Remismund, he found Theodoric murdered by his brother Euric. As he had risen, so he fell.

Sidonius Apollinaris has left us a picture of Theodoric as a man of middle size, strong-built and sinewy, with broad shoulders and deep chest. His long locks hung down over his slender neck; his eyes were shaded by strong eye-brows and long lashes; his nose was handsomely aquiline; his lips delicate; his chin shaved smooth; his complexion that of a healthy youth. The leading traits of his character were seriousness and repose; yet he could laugh heartily over a game at checkers. He was proud of his dignity without being arrogant. He was a master of the bow, and his arrows flew true to their mark. His armor-bearer and equerry attended him everywhere. Before daybreak he left his couch in order to be present at the meeting of his priests, but more out of policy than piety. Thereafter he gave himself to the affairs of state in the great hall, where stood his body-guards behind a curtain, clad in hides like the other Goths. From eight o'clock in the morning till noon his time was devoted to diversions—the chase, his horses, his treasure-chamber. Except on festival occasions, his table was characterized by simplicity and moderation. After the meal came a game and a short siesta, then business again from three in the afternoon till evening, when visitors withdrew, only friends remaining till late. Supper was enlivened neither by song nor music; conversation alone, with occasionally a jester, served as seasoning for the meal. As soon as Theodoric rose from table the approaches to the palace were occupied by guards.

The sum total of his reign was that he made his kingdom independent, and made it legally recognized as on a level with Rome. Its boundaries were not materially extended by him.

Theodoric's successor, Euric (464–484), followed in the beaten path. Important events were in prospect, for two influences were working toward the same end—the complete breaking up of the Empire and the powerful personality of the king. Euric's enemy, Sidonius, calls him a vigorous warrior, daring and prompt, but ambitious, passionate, and

stubborn. At first, he appears to have entertained friendly intentions towards Byzantium, but when its West Roman emperor, Anthemius, armed against the Vandals, he allied himself with his German brothers and took the field in their behalf. A Gothic host invaded Spain and fought victoriously against Suevi and provincials; the king himself defeated the Breton confederates of Rome, who, expelled from England, had settled in the northwest of France, and took from them the important city of Bourges. The disorders in Italy encouraged him to further enterprises, so that the whole region as far as the Loire and Rhone came shortly into his possession. Only the highlands of Auvergne, bravely defended by Ecdicius, son of the former emperor, Avitus, and the poet Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of its capital, Clermont, supported by friendly Burgundians and Bretons, maintained itself against him. In vain were all the efforts of the Goths. The pride of the Gallic aristocracy, the fanaticism of the Catholics, and the hate of the barbarians were concentrated as in a focus. Not till the Emperor Nepos, in 475, formally surrendered Auvergne, in order to purchase peace and alliance from the dreaded foe, did resistance cease.

A year later, the German Odoacer stepped into the place of Augustulus Romulus. The Western Empire had fallen, and only a few ruins reared themselves out of the surging sea around them. In the north of Gaul, Syagrius maintained himself as governor of the district about Soissons; Provence, in the South, recognized Nepos, now a fugitive in Dalmatia; and parts of Spain vindicated their independence under their native nobility. The fall of the Empire set all the Germans around in motion, and of these, the Visigoths were the most highly developed. Strengthened by Ostrogoths, Euric threw himself upon Spain and subdued all the peninsula save the mountainous northwest, which the Suevi, under King Remismund, held. He turned next to Provence: Arles, Marseilles, and all the land as far as the Durance was conquered. From the mouth of the Tagus to the Maritime Alps, the Gothic banner waved everywhere victorious, and firmly did their mighty lord hold his wide possessions in his hand—firmly, against piratical Saxons and covetous Franks alike. In his palace swarmed envoys of the German kingdoms, far and near, intermixed with those of the Romans and Persians. The Visigoths began to be regarded as the predominant people.

Euric's domestic administration was of high significance, for in it the superior civilization of Rome gained the upper hand. He took his most influential civil officials from the ranks of the provincials; even his German generals received Roman titles, and the German common law was codified after the Roman form. The kingdom was thus deprived of its

popular basis without receiving an equivalent, for the difference of the races in law and creed produced a chasm between them that could not be bridged over. In vain Euric tried to effect this by toleration, permitting St. Abraham to form communities of monks. The popular mind was adverse to him ; to many, the rule of a heretic appeared intolerable. To his conquests, the bishops, above all, showed themselves hostile, and their attitude found support. The potentate's patience became exhausted, and in his passionate way he shut the malcontents up in prison. Sidonius says the mere word "Catholic" made him wince in every member. The king, powerful as he was, recognized the danger. Religious dissensions menaced his life-work.

Its very extension weakened the state, over whose wide domains scarcely more than 500,000 Goths were dispersed. Of these, the main mass was in Aquitania, those in Spain being mere offshoots. Euric's successes were due not so much to the number as to the energy of his people, and to the weakness and demoralized condition of his enemies. After his days, Gothic greatness waned rapidly, to revive later in Spain, under more favorable conditions.

On Euric's death, after a reign of nineteen years, his son Alaric II. (484-507) ascended the throne—a man of limited and confused intellect, opposed to the astute Theodoric in Italy, and the powerful Clovis in Northern France. As of itself, the centre of power slipped from the Visigoths. Weakness, within and without, is the characteristic of Alaric's government. At home, he sought to reconcile the Catholics by compliance with their wishes, but the only result was that they raised their heads all the more confidently, while disturbances in Spain summoned one part of his forces westward, and stormy clouds gathered themselves on the north and east.

The Frank king, Clovis, overthrew Syagrius, conquered his land, and defeated the Alamanni. Had Alaric been more resolute and far-seeing, he would have helped these hard-pressed victims, for now a war appeared inevitable between him alone and the fierce victor. Only through the intercession of Theodoric, the kinsman of both, was it averted. On an island in the Loire, on the confines of their kingdoms, Alaric and Clovis met with great pomp and pageantry, and exchanged words of peace and friendship.

But the nature of the Frank could not brook peace. The Burgundian, Gundobad, had already submitted to him, and became his vassal. Again, Alaric dared not act openly on behalf of the oppressed, although he could not conceal his sympathy with the victim. Then his turn came. A section of the Catholic clergy, especially the bishops, engaged in trea-

sonable intrigues; their punishment had no other effect than that of estranging their adherents still more from the Arian king.

At length, in 507, the matter came to a head. Alaric, who had assured himself of help from the Ostrogoths, armed in haste and sought to raise money by debasement of the coinage. Clovis, prepared as ever, wished to decide the campaign before the Ostrogoths arrived. With the declaration that he was waging a war for the faith, he crossed the Loire, causing the Burgundians to advance from the east. Alaric wavered before the double attack, and retreated to Poitiers (Figs. 125, 126), where he entered a fortified camp. The Ostrogoths did not appear, and the Franks penetrated deeper, laying waste all before them. Then the old lust for battle and hate of their kindred neighbors awoke in the hearts of the Goths. They importuned the king to give up his advantageous position, and meet the foe in the open field. His people forced Alaric to action, but it was now inopportune. Not far from Poitiers, on the Voeladian fields, and probably close to the modern Vouillé, a bloody but

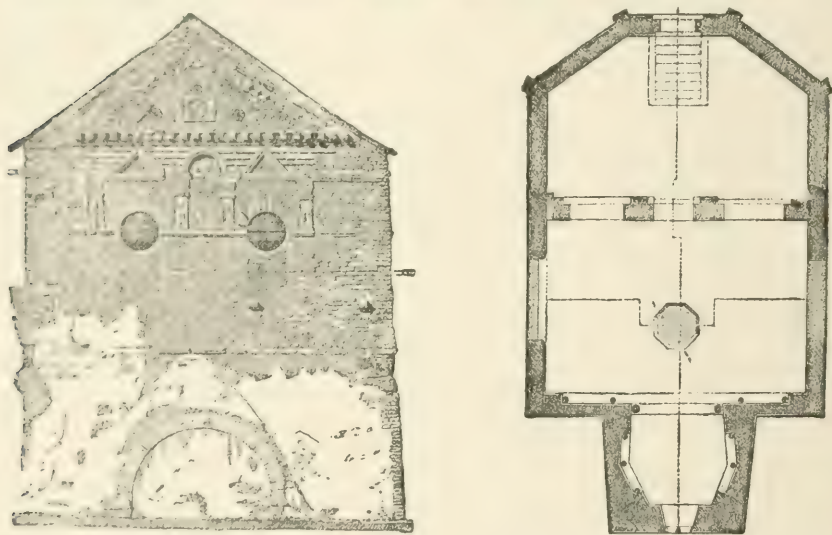


FIG. 125.—Baptistry of Saint Jean at Poitiers. Exterior view and ground-plan. Oldest edifice in France devoted to religious purposes. (From Gailhabaud.)

brief battle was fought. The Goths fled, and their king, in his despair, cast himself among the foe and was left on the field. The fight was regarded as a judgment of God, and the Catholic legend has clothed it with myths. The Catholic heart went forth to the victor, and nearly all Aquitania, even Bordeaux and Toulouse, easily became his prize.

The conflict between the elective and hereditary law of succession to

the Visigothic crown led to disorders favorable to Clovis. Alaric's son, Amalaric, was a boy of fifteen, and, therefore, according to the old German view, too young to rule, and Gesalic, an older son of the



FIG. 126—Baptistry of Saint Jean, at Poitiers. Cross-section and view of interior. (From Gailhabaud.)

deceased by a concubine, was elevated in his stead. But the hereditary principle had become a power, and Theodoric, Amalaric's grandfather, was alive. At this crisis, the Visigoths split into two parties, and Gesa-

He, taking advantage of the position of affairs, came first to the foreground. He renewed the war, but, hard pressed by both Franks and Burgundians, and not acknowledged by Theodoric, he had to leave Narbonne and withdraw to Spain. Yet the Franks gained no great victory; Carcassonne and Arles, especially, offered a brave resistance. For more than a year Arles had been besieged and repeatedly assaulted, when, at the end of 509 or beginning of 510, the Ostrogothic auxiliaries appeared in Gaul.

Now came a reaction. The allied Franco-Burgundian host was overthrown, Arles relieved, and the whole of Southern France reconquered. Gesalic was next attacked in Spain, defeated, and slain. A regency under Theodoric was then thought of—the crafty Theodoric, who preserved the Visigothic kingdom for his grandson only that he might rule it himself, which he continued to do after Amalaric was of age. The region north of the Garonne, and tracts in the south, were given up to the Franks, although traces of the presence of the Visigoths were observable centuries afterward. The Durance again became the boundary toward Burgundy, Southern France was made into a Gothic prefecture, and the tried Theudis sent to Spain. Theodoric confirmed his rule by garrisons, and transferred the royal treasures to Ravenna, whither, also, yearly tribute was sent. The rule of the Ostrogoths was regarded as little better than thralldom. Theudis married a rich Spanish lady, surrounded himself with a strong body-guard, and, supported by the Iberian national feeling, openly bore himself almost as sovereign of the peninsula.

On Theodoric's death the united kingdoms fell asunder into their natural divisions. Amalaric (526-531) took his hereditary Visigothic land, leaving all the region east of the Rhone to the Ostrogoths. The Visigothic country east of the Pyrenees—henceforth named Septimania—comprised only the southwest corner of France, now with Narbonne as its capital. Amalaric seems to have aimed at strengthening himself by marrying Clotilda, the daughter of Clovis; and this all the more that Spain was now almost avowedly ruled by Theudis. But it was precisely this marriage that wrought his ruin. The account is, that he sought to convert his spouse to Arianism by violence, and that she sent a garment stained with blood which she had shed under the blows of her husband, as a mute appeal, to her brother, Childebert. He came with a powerful force, overthrew the Goths, and carried his sister home. Amalaric was shortly thereafter slain, we know not how. With him the ruling house became extinct, and many of his tribesmen emigrated to Spain.



THE MATTHEW-BUTTERFORTH CO., NEW YORK, N. Y.

DRAWN BY F. DAVIS, ON THE BASIS OF HENRIET AND MENZIES MAP

Map of the Visigothic Kingdom: from 531 to 711 A.D.

THE VISIGOTHIC KINGDOM IN SPAIN.

(PLATE XXIII.)

The extinction of the royal race and the smallness of the Visigothic dominions in Gaul compared with those beyond the Pyrenees brought about a momentous change. Spain now became the dominant country. Out of the blending of the provincials with their masters, a new race arose, among whom Arianism succumbed before the more powerful rival faith. The history of the Spanish West Gothic state (the kingdom of Toledo) falls thus into two periods—the Arian and the Catholic.

THE ARIAN PERIOD (A. D. 531-586).

The hereditary principle in succession was never re-established. Theudis (531-548), the most powerful man in the land, seized the crown and caused himself to be acknowledged by the people. As he had attained greatness in Spain, he remained there, especially in the important border fortress, Barcelona, so as to be near Septimania, which was constantly threatened by the Franks. In 533 or 534, indeed, they subdued a portion of it, and eight years later they pressed over the Pyrenees. After some early successes, they were driven back, and would have been exterminated in the mountain-passes had not the Gothic commander been corrupted. The conquest of Africa by Belisarius Theudis let pass unnoticed. Some attempts on Ceuta failed, and in 548 he fell under the dagger of an assassin. The same fate overtook his successor, Theudigisel, formerly a general, after a reign of seventeen months. In a nocturnal carousal the lights were of a sudden extinguished by the conspirators and the king struck down in the darkness. "The Goths have the hideous fashion of disposing of unpopular kings by the sword, and then elevating one more to their mind." Such is the verdict of Gregory of Tours.

The violence of the rulers soon corresponded to that of those by whom they were surrounded. For this reason, a conspiracy broke out against Agila (549-554), with Athanagild at its head. Unable to make head, unaided, against the king, Athanagild called on the Byzantines, and with their help gained a victory. As Agila was arming anew, the fate of his predecessors overtook him also. The unity of the Gothic people was restored under Athanagild, but the southeast coast of the peninsula remained for seventy years in the hands of the self-seeking auxiliaries.

The throne that Athanagild mounted was undermined. In vain did he strive to drive forth the Greeks. By dint of superior skill they maintained their hold on the fortified cities. Arianism was, as it were, invested on all sides: on the north, by the Franks; on the southeast and south, by the Greeks; and on the west, by the Suevi. The two Gothic

princesses, Brunehilde and Galeswintha, who had married Frankish princes and were adherents of Catholicism, labored for his conversion; and a rumor said that the king became a convert of his own free will. The emergence of Toledo as capital was, as it were, a foreshadowing of the future.

Arianism was to flame up once more. At first, indeed, there seemed little hope of this, for after Athanagild's death, months elapsed before the people united on a successor. At last the nobles of Septimania elevated their duke, Leova. This does not seem to have met with the concurrence of the Spanish Goths, whereupon Leova made over the territory to the south of the Pyrenees to his younger brother, Leovigild (567-586). Thus the state had sunk to a divisible elective monarchy, threatened from without and within. But the turning-point came. Leova died in 572, and Leovigild reunited the whole country into one kingdom, dragging it, as it were, with a powerful hand out of the slough.

Leovigild had two objects: to render the royal authority absolute,



FIG. 127.—Gold coin of Leovigild (573-586 A.D.) LEOVIGILDVS RE. The cross at the beginning serves also as the X of REX. Reverse: TRODAS N IVSTVS. The two faces represent the king and his successor. The epithet IVSTVS stands, as is regularly the case on Visigothic coins—after the name of the town at which the coin was minted: Rhoda, in the Visigothic province of Tarraconensis, modern Rosas. The coin is one-third of the Roman solidus, and is one of the rudest coins known. The type, however, is original, and not copied from any contemporary Roman coins. (Berlin.)

and to be sole ruler in the Pyrenean peninsula. To attain the former, he broke the power of the native chiefs, sought to degrade the dignitaries of the Catholic church, and to aggrandize the crown by wealth and splendor, and the restoration of hereditary succession; in short, he blended the functions of the German king with those of Roman imperialism. To reach his second object, he had to subdue the Suevi and drive forth the Byzantines, while he obviated attacks of the Franks by relationship through intermarriage. By carrying out these designs Leovigild became the saviour of his country.

Military cares first claimed his attention. The Byzantines had extended their dominion over the whole south of Spain up to the Sierra Morena, Cordova constituting the headquarters of their power. Leovigild took the field against them, overthrew them,

and recovered most of the cities, including Cordova, which was assaulted by night and deluged with blood. Before his arms the people of the northern highlands, too, succumbed after a fierce resistance, and the heads of their leaders fell to the executioner's axe, while their treas-

ures were confiscated to the royal exchequer. A new city, decorated with magnificent structures and environed by strong walls, arose as a trophy of victory for the present, and a place of strength to overawe the region for the future. Memorial coins bearing *Victoria* probably belong to this period. In 576 Leovigild opened war against the Suevi, whose king-



FIG. 128.—Gold coin of King Leovigild. (Berlin.)



FIG. 129.—Gold coin of King Hermenegild. (Berlin.)

dom embraced Galicia and Portugal. Here, too, victory waited on his banners. The Suevian king, Miro, only with difficulty obtained an armistice, and seems to have bound himself to an enduring peace. These wars had lasted eight years; the king could now devote himself to internal affairs.

From of old, certain dominant families had grown up to be a power, scarcely compatible with that of the state. The Gothic nobles, originating in this way, had now so aggrandized themselves that they were at once a menace to the crown and oppressors of the people. Against these Leovigild proceeded with inexorable severity. By killing off a great number of the nobility, he restored peace to himself and his kingdom. And what he extorted by the sword he confirmed and ordered by laws, specifically amending the code of Euric by striking from it numerous provisions no longer in harmony with the age.

Monarchy had won a firm foundation on the ruins of the nobility and the strong shoulders of the freemen. In 573 Leovigild made his two sons by his first marriage—Hermenegild and Reccared—co-regents, thus tentatively reintroducing the principle of hereditary succession. His own person he surrounded with every circumstance of pomp; Toledo became his capital. The first coins with the head of the national king were struck, and a state-treasury established and replenished with taxes and the confiscation of estates. Up to this time only Roman money had been struck. Now, in place of the name and figure of the remote Caesar, those of the native king were substituted with full ornamentation (Figs. 127, 128). The dignity of their ruler was thus made obvious to the people. Over a dozen mints were at work to meet the demands of industry and commerce. This decisive change in the monetary system was coincident with, and indicative of, the elevation of the people materially, intellec-

trally, and politically. This was, too, the time when Isidore of Seville, Leandro, and Johannes of Biclare wrote, who, after a dreary period of barrenness, once more inspired life into historical delineation.

The king, cherishing the hope of further confirming his achievements through kinship with the Frankish ruling house, married his oldest son, Hermenigild (Fig. 129), to the Merovingian princess, Ingunthis. But this very step produced complications that brought in question the very existence of the state. Ingunthis came with a rich equipment, but would submit to no rebaptism after the Arian rite. The king summoned a council at Toledo, and this devised measures for facilitating conversion from Catholicism to Arianism. Many were thereby won over, the refractory being dealt with by the state.

The creeds came into direct conflict, when an unheard-of event took place. In direct antagonism to the policy of his father, Hermenigild, whose residence was at Seville, was converted by his wife, and, traitorously allying himself with the Suevi and with the Byzantines of the south coast, appeared in open rebellion. The humiliated enemies of the crown joined him; religious jealousy lent its impulse; even the Basques of the north broke loose. Leovigild seems to have been surprised at first by the violence and volume of the movement; but rallying with the energy peculiar to him, he conquered the Basques and drove many of them over the Pyrenees to their kindred in Aquitania (Bas- or Vas-conia, that is, Gascony). His ill-advised son he besieged in Seville, and a Suevian host, under King Miro, that came to his relief, escaped annihilation only by acknowledging Visigothic supremacy. Byzantine help failed to come, and Seville, after being weakened by famine, was taken by storm. Hermenigild escaped to Cordova, but, unable to maintain himself there, surrendered. The prison, and thence the scaffold, were his doom for remaining staunch to his faith. In his case, the father gave way to the ruler. Ingunthis and her son remained in alliance with the equivocal Greeks.

With Hermenigild's overthrow the complications were not at an end. Contests for the throne broke out among the Suevi, which Leovigild took advantage of, to render this people harmless once for all. In 584, he took the last Suevian king captive, and made his land a Gothic province. Then a storm threatened from the heretofore happily-restrained Franks, and their confederates, the Burgundians. Two armies entered Septimania; a fleet sailed against Galicia. The last was destroyed, and the allied armies, after a few preliminary successes, could make no head against the Goths under Reccared. During negotiations for peace, his father died in Toledo.

Leovigild was one of those natures in whom glowed the whole ardor of the son of Spain: fearless and passionate and calculating; a great statesman, warrior, and king. The Peninsula obeyed him to its utmost bounds; within and without the tendency to Catholicism was checked. It almost appeared as if a future were secured for the doctrine of Arius, and yet its end was imminent.

THE CATHOLIC PERIOD (A. D. 586-711).

Leovigild's son and successor, Reccared (586-601), adopted Catholicism and elevated it to be the state religion. Many motives seem to have been at work. The religious division was the root of all evils. The Catholics constituted a nearly overwhelming majority; the representatives of an ancient and superior culture, they had also the better organized and more effective faith. That Arianism could not permanently maintain the upper hand must have gradually become clear. Not only the Suevi, but a large proportion of the Goths, had fallen away from it; and from without it was threatened by hostile Catholic powers. Furthermore the main support of Orthodoxy—the episcopate—promised the king the help he needed against the lay nobles. Reccared did, under changed circumstances, what Constantine had done before him.

In the first year of his reign he called the Arian and Catholic bishops to a religious conference, where, after long but resultless discussions, the king publicly declared for Orthodoxy. A part of the Goths, even Arian bishops, followed his example; others murmured, and soon all the more, inasmuch as the government set about extirpating Arianism. The heretics were shut out from all offices, and their sacred books burned. Three times the degraded confession broke out in revolt, always under the leading of bishops, usually supported by selfish nobles. All attempts failed, even the two directed from Septimania, and supported by Guntram of Burgundy. In the neighborhood of Carcassonne the enemies suffered a bloody defeat. In this the Goths saw the interposition of Providence in favor of their converted king. After this the king enjoyed comparative peace. A conspiracy of Duke Argimund was discovered; the rebel was scourged, shorn, and degraded. With the Byzantines, cases of friction were frequent, but resultless. The Basque mountaineers, who had sought to return from Gascony, succumbed before the sword of the Goths. With the Franks, Reccared pursued his father's policy of friendship.

Much more important for the future were the ecclesiastical and political developments. In 589, the memorable Third Council, that of Toledo, met. All the bishops—even the Suevian and Septimanian—were there,

representing, as never before, the unification of the kingdom. Court and nobility were openly Catholic, for this was the condition of holding office. The Arians were solemnly anathematized, and a synod was ordered to be held every year in each ecclesiastical province. This council had grown into a diet, the first in a long series.

Hitherto Arianism had marked off the Goths from the Roman provincials, and preserved for them their ancestral speech and customs. Now Roman usages gained the ascendancy. Latin became the language of the state, the court, the Church, business, and literature. Gothic became relegated to the country districts, and gradually died out. The court adopted the etiquette of Byzantium. Roman jurisprudence was incorporated in the law-books for the Goths and provincials. Reccared's reign marks the date of the Romanizing of his people.

Another not less momentous revolution was that consequent on the growth in power of the Catholic Church. Nowhere had the councils the same influence as with the Visigoths. The connection between the Church and the state was so close that ecclesiastical censures and sanctions had a political and social influence; and inversely, the king's displeasure amounted to excommunication and his pardon to readmission to the Church. The institution of the ceremony of crowning and anointing, which began under Reccared, is closely connected with the rise of ecclesiastical power. The king found in the clergy at once a powerful support and a most dangerous enemy; yet both combined were not strong enough to cope with the old grievance of the land—the usurpation of power by the nobility. In all save this, the reign of Reccared constituted a turning-point in the history of his people.

Reccared was a man of altogether different stamp from his father. He studied the interests of the clergy and the people, and was of singular mildness of disposition and of winning manners.

He was succeeded by his son, Leova II. (601–603), a lad of twenty years, who, within a year and a half, fell before a conspiracy, the barely initiated principle of hereditary succession being thus once more violated. Wit-teric, the victorious rebel, ascended the throne, and maintained himself there seven years (603–610). It is said he tried to reintroduce Arianism, to which he was, in a large measure, indebted for his elevation. Apparently, he assumed a sort of conciliatory attitude. Against the Byzantines he fought without result, and a dangerous war with the Franks seemed imminent, when he was stabbed at a banquet.

The Catholics had evidently something to do with the murder. They succeeded in placing the Orthodox Gunthimar (610–612) on the throne. He seems to have held two councils, and to have prosecuted the customary

war with the Byzantines. This was, too, the life-task of his successor Sisebut (612–620). In two campaigns this king (Fig. 130) triumphed over the foes of his country, and, winning over the inhabitants by his mildness, became at length master of the far-stretching possessions on the Mediterranean. To the Byzantines were left only some places in modern Algarve, in the south of Portugal. Sisebut was distinguished also by his taste for art and science; he built the famed church of St. Leocadia in Toledo, and plied the pen of the author. Pious and fanatical, he was possessed by the idea of consolidating his kingdom by unity of creed, and thus came in collision with an isolated people—the Jews. These were numerous in Spain, and, as usual, had accumulated very considerable wealth. They were handed over to the clergy. Many were baptized through violence, others were cruelly persecuted and plundered. But it was soon seen that the Jews were not to be so lightly disposed of as the Arians. In their case one had not only to do with a difference of religion, but also with a difference of race; and as a race the Jews are the most stubborn of all. The Jewish question apparently contributed to the fall of the state. On Sisebut's death, the report was that he had been poisoned. His son, Reccared II., who succeeded him, survived him by a few months.

After the death of Reccared II., the tried commander, Swinthila (621–631) was elected, who succeeded in expelling the Byzantines from Algarve and making the whole peninsula Visigothic. On the strength of his successes, and supported by the freemen, he raised his son Ricimer to be his co-regent and successor; by his independence of action and by summoning no council, he seems to have evoked the hostility of the nobles and clergy. A part of these purchased the alliance of the Franks by the surrender of an old national treasure—the costly gold platter of Aëtius. Count Sisinanth raised the standard of revolt in Septimania, had himself crowned as king, and advanced with his allies to Saragossa. Here Swinthila intended to confront him, but his army fell away piecemeal to the enemy. He himself was surrendered and deposed, but his life was spared.

This victory of Sisinanth (631–636) involved that of his partisans—the clergy. In 633, the Fourth Council of Toledo met, under Isidore of Seville. Sisinanth, attended by the foremost of his nobility, appeared



FIG. 130. Gold coin of Sisebut (612–621 A. D.). Obverse: † SISEBVTVS REX. Reverse: † EMERETA PIVS. Emerita, capital of the province Lusitania, modern Merida. In Emereta we have a confusion of *e* and *i*, common in vulgar Latin, as also is that of other vowels: Cf. *vector* for *victor*, etc. (Berlin.)

before the spiritual fathers, threw himself upon the earth, and with tears and sighs begged the bishops to intercede with God for him, exhorting them to guard the rights of the Church, and root out abuses. The result of the council was embodied in seventy-five canons, comprising ordinances concerning synods, ecclesiastical discipline, etc. By command of the king, freeborn priests were released from taxes and forced work, and the Jews, although not compelled to embrace Christianity, were induced to do so by all possible means. Their children must be under Christian supervision, they themselves could hold no public office. Finally, the council inculcated loyalty and obedience to kings. When one died the choice of his successor was left to the nobles and bishops concurrently. Whoever transgressed against the sovereign, in life or limb, was to be damned forever.

It was still more evident under Kindila (636-640) how the Church, having once grown into a power, sought to take the crown under its protection and arrange its affairs. Thus, the Fifth Council of Toledo decided that whoever, without authority, conspired against the life or dignity of the king, or who, during his lifetime, looked out for a successor, or uttered maledictions against a prince, should fall under the ban of the Church. But no real decree was made. The Sixth Council supplied what was wanting: a royal edict banishing all Jews from the land so that it might be for the Orthodox alone, was so far modified as to make it incumbent upon each ruler to swear to maintain Catholicism; but the decrees of the Fourth Council against the Jews were declared in full force. Thus, we see that this assembly altered a mandate of the king in favor of a canon of a council, while it strove to secure his person, children, court-officers, etc., by the threat of church-penalties.

Kindila was succeeded by his son, Tulga (640-641). He was a young, inexperienced, and weak man. A part of the repressed noblemen took advantage of his position to rise in revolt under Kindaswinth. Tulga was deposed and shut up, with shorn head, in a monastery. During the ascendancy of the Church, peace had prevailed. As soon as the lay element became preponderant, the crook gave place to the sword, and all the decrees of councils collapsed before brute force.

Kindaswinth (641-652), under the weight of nearly eighty years, concealed a passionate, energetic, and imperious nature. Scarcely was he acknowledged, when he began to assert himself. The Frank, Fredegar, reports: "He caused all those who before had had to do with the expulsion of kings or stood under suspicion of revolt, to be slain or banished. Two hundred of his foremost subjects and five hundred men of lower estate he is said to have put to death; their wives, chil-

dren, and property were divided among his adherents. Many fled to the Franks and Africa, where they appealed for help and endeavored to return home in arms in quest of revenge." His merciless severity broke down all effective opposition, and secured the peace of terror. His piety and encouragement of science, his activity in good works, his gifts, and church-building—above all, his power—so operated that the Church party came over to his side. The Seventh Council of Toledo (646) marked the conclusion of peace between the Church and crown. Among other decrees there was one declaring that any churchman who took sides with an anti-king should suffer excommunication. Kindaswinth accepted its decrees and embodied them in his own civil code. A uniform land-law for all the kingdom was promulgated, a reform of the judiciary carried through, the proudest palatines threatened with the same punishment as the meanest freeman, and refractory churchmen brought before the lay judges. We see that the temporal ascendancy of the Church was broken; yet its power remained. The Church and the untitled freemen constituted the foundation on which the throne rested. A period of peaceful progress could now develop itself.

In the year 649, the king appointed his son, Reccesiwinth (652-672), co-regent. As far as we can learn this took place on the motion of the spiritual and temporal dignitaries, without election. In his extreme age, Kindaswinth made over the reins to the more vigorous power, dying within three years. This very fact, which should have repressed all disorders, seems to have stirred them up. Especially the ever-turbulent Basques had to be coerced by armed force. Otherwise, the king endeavored to effect his purposes by mildness. To the rebellious he promised pardon, to the country-people, diminution of taxes.

Scarcely had Reccesiwinth been a year seated on the throne when he summoned the Eighth Council of Toledo. Up to this time the clerical element had been in the ascendancy in these assemblies; for, although lay nobles took part in them, only the ecclesiastical signatures appeared on the decrees. Now dignitaries of the state took their seats beside those of the Church, so that the council corresponded to a full diet, as it continued to do in later times. The Spanish Council decrees were thus in large measure equivalent to Frankish capitularies. The king opened the sitting and laid his propositions before the meeting, on which there followed debate and decision. In respect to the election of a king, the following amendment was adopted: that it should take place in the capital or place of death of the predecessor, and the choice be made by the nobles with the concurrence of the bishops and palace-officials; the king should defend the Catholic faith against Jews and heretics, and

not reign before he had taken the oath. Two supplementary decrees were added, one classing the inheritance left by the king under private- and crown-property, the other, instituting a court of arbitration for all



Fig. 131.—Gold coin of Recceswinth. Obv. 672 A. D. Obverse: † RECCESVINVS RX Reverse: † TOLETO PIYS Toledo was the capital of the province Carthagenensis. The Greek θ for the TH in this Latin inscription is peculiar. The cross upon a platform is imitated from Roman coins. (Berlin.)

suits against the crown. At the moment, these concessions probably appeared to involve no peril to monarchy, which was yet strong; but later on their effects were momentous. Already the ratification of the acts in the assembly sounded strangely outspoken. It was not the design to make any royal family predominant and the other members of the kingdom powerless. Emphasis was laid only on the royal office, not on the bearer thereof as an individual.

Recceswinth continued in the trodden path. Like his father, his main object was the reformation of the laws, and here he effected much. But what availed the best laws when their very foundations—the royal authority and the succession—remained insecure, nay were now specially rendered insecure? After a peaceful reign of twenty years, Recceswinth died, on the whole an amiable, but not far-sighted prince, more of a theologian and jurist than a statesman. (Cf. Fig. 132¹.)

At the place of his death, an eminent Goth, named Wamba (672–680), was chosen by the assembled dignitaries, and anointed by the Metropolitan of Toledo. As so often before, the standard of revolt was raised in Septimania, and then tumults broke out in the northern mountain regions. Wamba marched to suppress the latter, sending over the Pyrenees his general Paulus, who, however, was led by ambition to grasp at the crown. Soon all the land from the Frankish border to the Ebro was in flames. Only the clergy appear to have remained true to the chosen and anointed king. Wamba took the field with unexpected promptitude, repressed the Basques, subdued Tarragona, marched to Septimania, took Narbonne by storm, and laid siege to Nîmes, where Paulus had collected the last elements of resistance. After a brave defence, the gates were forced, the walls scaled, and the city entered. But the way had to be purchased step by step with blood. The dead and wounded lay in thick heaps,

¹ Fig. 132 represents certain objects from the Guarrazar Treasure, in Paris: 1. Votive crown of King Recceswinth ($\frac{1}{3}$ original size), inscribed: RECCESVINTHVS REX OFFERET. 2. Cross, inscribed: IN NOMINE DEI OFFERET SONNICA SANCTE MARIE IN SORBACES ($\frac{1}{2}$ original size). 3. Votive crown ($\frac{1}{4}$ original size). 4. Votive crown (nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ original size). 5. Cross ($\frac{1}{3}$ original size). (From Lasteyrie.)

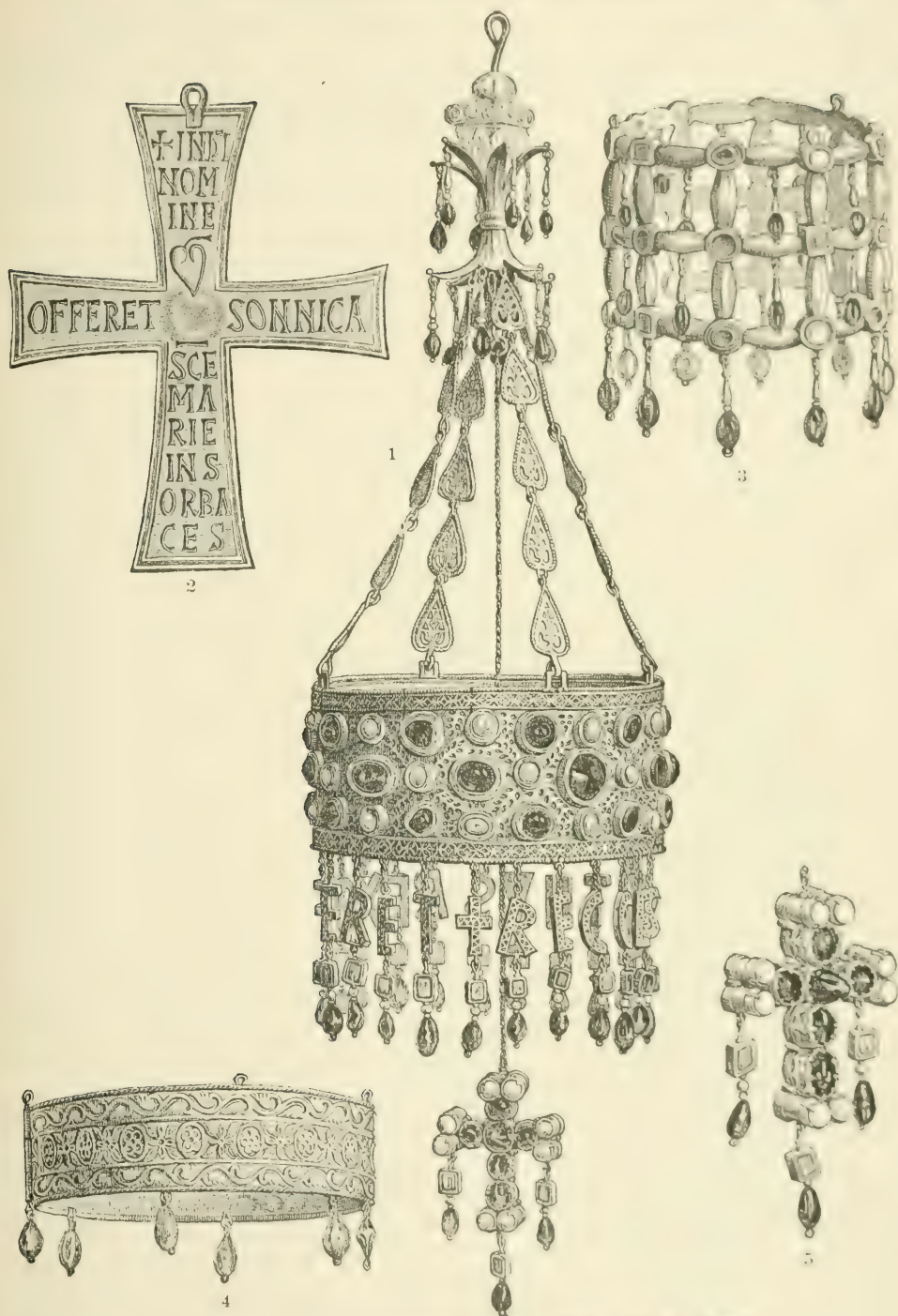


FIG. 132.—From the Guarrazar Treasure. Paris. (See page 342.)

before Paulus took refuge in the Roman amphitheatre. Without hope of escape, he besought the king, through the Archbishop of Narbonne, for mercy, and his life was promised him. By two mounted dukes he was led by the hair through the ranks of the host to the presence of the sovereign, where he cast himself in the dust and divested himself of his sword-girdle as a token of his renunciation of all war-like glory. Some days later, he, with the other ring-leaders, was again brought before Wamba, who was seated on a throne in the middle of the camp and surrounded by his army under arms. The Toledan resolutions were read, decreeing death for rebellion. Wamba, however, let mercy prevail, and satisfied himself with condemning the culprits to life-long imprisonment and loss of honor, which degradation was indicated by tearing out their hair.

The promptitude of the king had anticipated great mischief, for Paulus had formed alliances with the Franks and Saxons. A Frankish army, indeed, was on the advance, but turned homeward on hearing of the successes of the king, so that Wamba was at liberty to order matters in Septimania and thereafter march back to Toledo. His entry was like a triumph. Paulus with the other rebels marched in the forefront, laden with chains, their heads bald, and clad in skins, like slaves. The chief malefactor bore, in mockery, a leather crown on his head. Nearly the half of Spain took part in the rising. According to later sources, Wamba was the first king to fight against the Moors. These had subdued all North Africa, and sought to pass over on a strong fleet to the beautiful peninsula, "Algeciras," but were annihilated. Here, and in the contests for the coast-cities of Septimania, the fleet began to play an important part, while Wamba sought also to strengthen his land-forces by a more vigorous enforcement of military obligations and by widening their scope. All men fit to carry arms, ecclesiastics as well as laymen, were bound to take the field when called on, along with a tenth (later, it is said, a half) of their vassals. Such as failed to rally to the standard were punished with proscription, infamy, and loss of freedom.

The rigid tension of military authority and the encroachments on the Church seem to have alienated the clergy, who became every day more secularized. There lived at the court a relative of Wamba, named Erwie, highly honored by him, who recompensed his benefactor by administering poison to him, and causing him to be shorn of his crown when insensible and put into monkish garb. Himself he caused to be anointed as king (680-687). Wamba accepted the situation and closed his days peacefully as a monk.

The Twelfth National Council of Toledo confirmed the elevation of Erwie, and called on all the people to be true to him. The severe laws

of Wamba against such as evaded military duty were mitigated, the Church's right of asylum extended, and Ervic's twenty enactments against the Jews ratified and enforced. By these they were prohibited from celebrating festivals, following their customs, or declining baptism for themselves, children, and servants. The persecuted race defended their principles so vigorously in writings as to call forth a reply from Archbishop Julian of Toledo.

The decrees of the Thirteenth Council that met two years later were much more momentous for the authority of the king. By these, all the rebels against Wamba were reinstated in their honors and properties; the king deprived of the right of arbitrarily punishing nobles and ecclesiastics, and this power transferred to an assembly of spiritual and lay dignitaries; he could no longer elevate slaves and freedmen to household offices, nor marry the widow of a deceased king—i. e. not win over his adherents. To all this was added remission of taxes and mitigation of the military enactments. Of little avail was it that the council, in terms of the earlier canons, insured the safety of the royal family on penalty of the ban. Those relics of the crown privileges, so carefully maintained by the last sovereigns, were now lost. The reign of Ervic, not eight years in duration, was one of the most fateful for the crown. He himself seems to have felt this. Passing over his own children, he declared his son-in-law Egica, Wamba's nephew, heir to the throne, and forthwith exchanged the purple for the monk's cowl.

Egica (687–701) was scarcely acknowledged and anointed when he convened the Fifteenth Council at Toledo, as if preliminary to reinstating the adherents of Wamba in their possessions and privileges. He was more independent than his predecessor. The disaffected Sisebert, Metropolitan of Toledo, instigated a plot for the assassination of the king, his family and courtiers, and the elevation of a pliant tool. But the affair was discovered. Sisebert was seized, his partisans overpowered, and he himself deposed and exiled by the Sixteenth Council.

Next year the Seventeenth Council met. It dealt mainly with the Jews, who had traitorous correspondence with their brethren across the Strait of Gibraltar. Its judgments were Draconic in their severity. The goods of the Hebrews should be confiscated, themselves enslaved, their children taken in charge till their seventeenth year, brought up in the true faith, and married to Christians. With the record of these barbarous enactments closes the authentic history of the Visigoths. Myth and party-rage have disfigured the remainder.

After Egica had secured the co-regentship and succession to his son, he died a natural death at Toledo.

Concerning his successor, Witica (701-710), the accounts are most conflicting. Those nearest in time are favorable; later reports depict him as the author of all the state's misfortunes. The best source says: "Witica remitted the punishments ordained by his father, and destroyed the testimonies of guilt that he had extorted from his subjects; he recalled the exiles and reinstated them, so that through all Spain his administration was loved." But just now the evils under which the kingdom was sorely distressed became menacing: a deep-seated immorality in clergy and laity alike, which the earlier councils had striven in vain to check; inordinate wealth of the Church and individual families, before whom the freemen disappeared and sank into a state of half-freedom or serfdom; lust of power and contempt for law on the part of the great, whose want of national feeling and plots with foreigners were vainly combated by ecclesiastical ordinances; the coercive laws against Judaism, which forced heretical views into the very structure of Catholicity; an effete crown; and, in the immediate neighborhood, a powerful foe, for which a section of its subjects longed:—such was the condition of affairs that seems to have induced Witica to undertake root-and-branch reforms, having for their aim the restoration of the authority of the crown and of hereditary succession, the humiliation of the refractory nobles, the restriction of the Church to its proper spiritual work, and the stopping of the persecution of the Jews. A large proportion of the nobility and the archbishops of Toledo and Seville stood on his side. An Eighteenth Council was held, whose acts have been lost, possibly because they so flatly contradicted those of earlier Councils. In the conflict regarding these innovations, the king appears to have perished. Roderic, the son of a blinded man of rank, rose in rebellion. Beyond this we have no more than the meagre notice that in 709 a pestilence desolated the capital and the king left it.

The insurgent took the title of sovereign (710-711), without being able to command universal recognition or to master the hostile party led by Witica's sons. For reforms it was too late. The Gordian knot was to be cut by the sword of the stranger.

Across the narrow sea the Arabian governor, Musa ibn-Nosair, had finished the subjugation of Africa. Only the strong city of Ceuta still offered resistance. At length it was delivered up by Count Julian, who had so bravely defended it. Julian is supposed to have directed Musa's attention to Spain, and to have undertaken a plundering expedition thither. Musa received permission from the Calif Walid to commence a war, and in the spring of 711 sent thither the tried leader, Tarik ibn-Zeyad, along with Julian and an army of probably 10,000 or 12,000 men, the majority of whom were Berbers.

The Moslem came at a lucky hour. Roderic was engaged in the north against the Basques, while the effects of the pest were still felt, so that the south was largely denuded of troops. Tarik landed, besieged, and took the steep rock of Calpe, which ever since has borne the name of its conqueror—Gabal Tarik ('the hill of Tarik,' whence Gibraltar). The Goths, under Theodemer, were repulsed. At length the king himself appeared with all his force. The Moslem, too, had been reinforced. On the Salada, near Jerez de la Frontera, not far from Cadiz, a battle was fought on the 25th and 26th of July, 711. The Goths were superior in numbers, but had become unused to regular engagements, while envy and treachery were at work in their ranks. The legend protracts the combat for more than a week. Roderic is represented as commanding in the centre, the two sons of Witica on the flanks. Already the Moslem began to waver, when Witica's sons, burning with hate, precipitated themselves against Roderic, and decided the conflict, which was the overthrow of the kingdom. The meagre Spanish chronicle tells only that Roderic perished with his rivals. Arabic tradition makes him storm thunderously along in an ivory triumphal chariot, drawn by white horses, his head adorned with a crown lustrous with precious stones, and his shoulders covered by a purple robe.

It is significant of the weakness of the great kingdom that no second host appeared on the field, and that the Moslems were left to capture one city after another without molestation. All order was at an end; the peasants fled to the cities; the city patricians, to the north or to foreign countries, while the oppressed and discontented masses made their peace with the victors. The rich and strongly fortified Toledo fell without a stroke, the Metropolitan having hurried to Rome for safety. With wonderful rapidity the Moslems extended their conquests. The Jews were their allies and occupied the cities for them.

All this time Musa had tarried, by no means satisfied, in Africa. He had commanded Tarik not to press inland, for his wish was to reap the glory of the conquest himself. Now upward of seventy years old, he came over with an imposing force, captured Seville, Merida, and other cities, and advanced upon Toledo. Tarik went to meet him, and instantly on coming within view of him, sprang from his horse to do him homage; but Musa, in fury, plied his whip about his subordinate's ears, demanding why he had made conquests without permission. The rest of Spain, with the exception of the northern parts of Galicia and Asturias, and the district of Murcia, now made its submission. In Murcia, Theodemer had taken a strong position, and so effectively defended himself that seven cities, with their precincts, were made over to him. On his death

those also fell into the hands of the Moslem. There now remained to the Christians only the mountains of Asturias; and these they defended gallantly. It is probable that they, too, would have been reduced, and that the Arabs would have passed the Pyrenees and overflowed France, had not the strife between Tarik and Musa caused the recall of the leaders. The same motives and passions that worked the ruin of the Gothic nation rescued its last relics.

STATE AND CHURCH AMONG THE VISIGOTHS.

At an early period, the Goths, when settled on the Danube, had become acquainted with the culture of antiquity, and, sooner than the other races, had organized a well-ordered German state. They it was, who seemed destined to shape the future of the West, and yet their development, like a bud with a worm at its heart, drooped and perished before its time.

The fundamental evil affecting the Visigothic state was its nobility, temporal and spiritual. Before this, the class of freemen—the main-stay of their country's weal—succumbed, while the crown never acquired its full power. Although this people were the first of the Germans to develop the rights of the individual citizen, yet they never attained a settled constitution.

Only a strong hereditary monarchy could have enabled them to accomplish this, unifying all the elements of the yet crude state, and overbearing all refractory or opposing influences. But this was denied them. At first it seemed as if this institution would shape itself, or, at least, attach itself, in Old German fashion, to the royal stock. But it was deprived of this basis by the sons of Theodoric, the one slaying the other. With Amalaric of gloomy memory, the royal line came to an end, and no new house succeeded in establishing a hereditary claim. Pure election became the custom with all its consequences—self-seeking, intrigue, sedition, and assassination. The Gothic monarchy became as the weakest, its power vacillating and quite unreliable. Loyalty and respect for the crown died out. Till the days of Leovigild, the king was distinguished neither by royal robes nor a throne.

When the Catholic Church succeeded in establishing its ascendancy over its rival, an attempt was made to secure rest and stability for the kingdom, by regulating the election by law, and by taking the crown under its protection. The plan of designating the successor became customary, generally by naming him as co-regent—a phase of the continually renewed struggle for the hereditary principle. Opposition made the

strong kings tyrants toward the great ; the weak ones, a scourge for their people. Often violence burst all barriers, and might became right.

The nobles were at once electors and candidates for the throne—in Arian times, the lay nobility ; in Catholic times, the lay and spiritual ; the two dignities often passing into each other. This order took its origin in the great provincial proprietors and in the chiefs of the victorious immigrants, and was distinguished by wealth and heredity, in virtue of which it cast the elective crown comparatively into the shade. Not the crown, but the rivalries and jealousies of the great houses, preserved a sort of tumultuary balance of power for the state, their very ambition and turbulence constituting one of its safeguards, as well as the fact that the houses of which the circle was made up were by no means always the same. New families rose into it, old ones sank ; even the unfreed climbed to the highest rounds of the ladder, such changes being often associated with the changes on the throne.

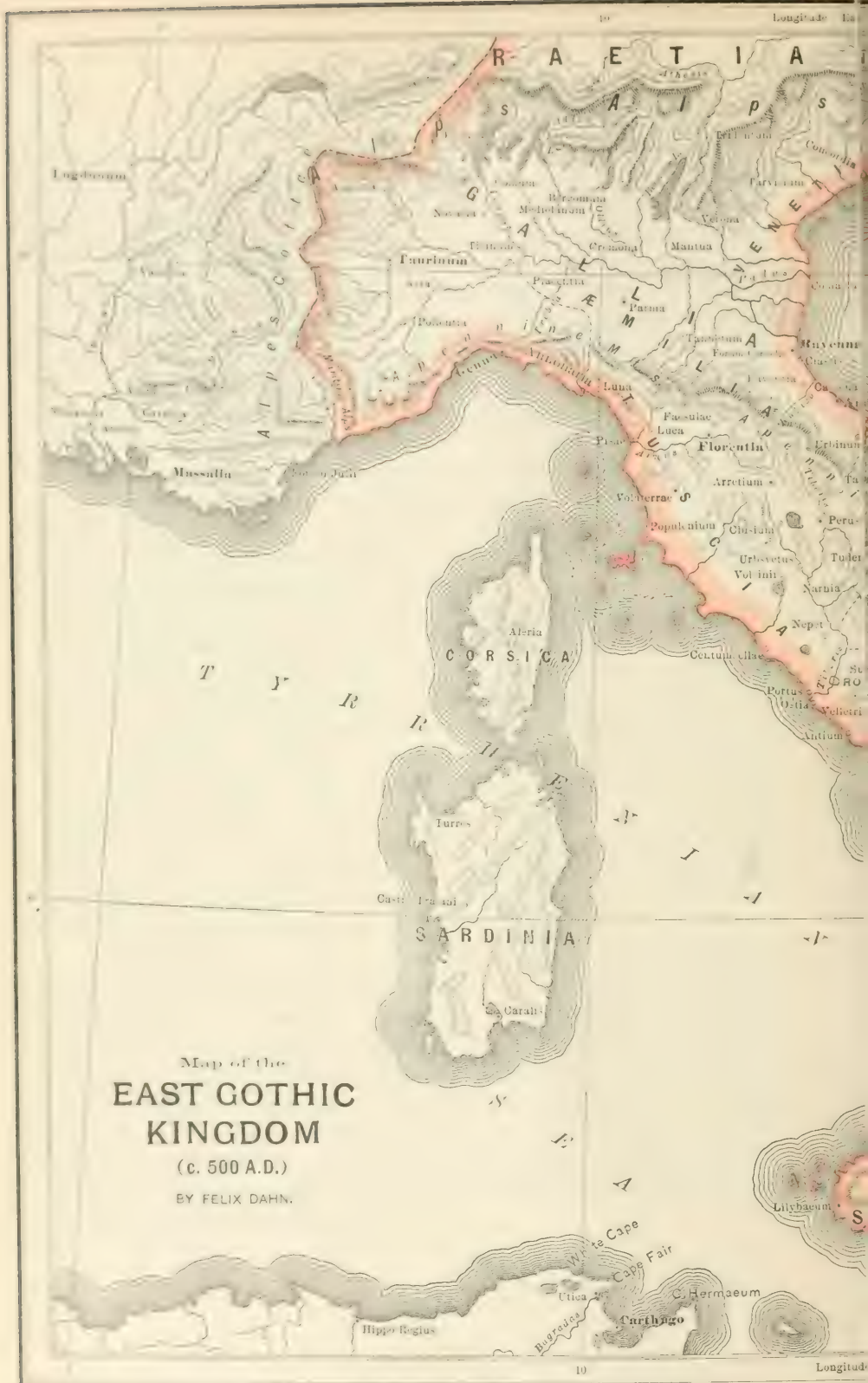
In consequence of the concurrence of the authority of the German monarch with that of the Roman emperor in his person, the Visigothic king possessed, theoretically, an almost absolute power, and this all the more that the old limiting influences—the folk-meetings and popular nobility—were no longer extant. On the other hand, the land- and official-nobility and the hierarchy constituted a much ruder restrictive element. At first, the lay nobles were wont to lord it in the councils of state or, so to speak, parliaments ; but as the Catholic Church grew in power, the spiritual dignitaries, in virtue of their own proper assemblies, took an equal place with the lay nobility, till ultimately the two bodies became blended, and the state councils were absorbed into those of the Church. This movement was accelerated by the eagerness with which the high nobility, even the Gothic, pressed forward for the Church offices. When crown, Church, and nobles were of one purpose all went smoothly ; but this, unfortunately, was seldom the case, and too often there came a conflict of interests, in which the crown had not always the upper hand. Sometimes the lay aristocracy indulged themselves in revolt and assassination ; sometimes the Church asserted itself by making the king its subordinate and tool ; sometimes the crown did this, by the exercise of autocratic authority.

The power of the Church was concentrated in the episcopate and received expression through Councils. These were summoned by the king, and were wont to deliberate on what he submitted to them, but he could not bring forward anything that infringed on the prerogatives of the temporal or spiritual dignitaries, nor, indeed, well propose anything whatever without consultation with men of influence, of whom the

most powerful was the Metropolitan of Toledo. The head of the Church was thus, as it were, first minister of the state. Yet the crown possessed great influence in the councils by virtue of its punitive power and its nomination of bishops. In earlier times these were chosen by the people and provincial episcopate, and on the advice of the Metropolitan, sanctioned by the king, but by the Twelfth Council of Toledo the sole right of nomination was conveyed to the sovereign, that of induction, to the Archbishop of Toledo. Once enthroned, the state had no more authority over a bishop, but, inversely, his class in councils had the power of dethroning rulers and pronouncing them usurpers. Their influence enabled many bishops to accumulate immense wealth, and this led to their secularization and assumption of the functions of civil officials. Long before this, they had liberated themselves from the fetters of their profession and appeared on the field at the head of their vassals. War, politics, and the administration of their estates not seldom hid from their view their spiritual interests.

Notwithstanding their closer relationship with Rome, the people felt themselves to be less members of the Church universal than of that of their own land, and this especially since Toledo became the seat of the primate. The Goths had adopted the Spanish mode of reckoning time, whose era begins thirty-eight years before the customary Christian one. The metropolitan presided over the Councils, and was, in fact, co-regent, not rarely over-regent. The Eighth Council had declared that the bishops are set over the people by Christ. To enhance the glory of the capital, the Seventh Council had ordained that the neighboring prelates should spend one month yearly there. In Toledo the national councils assembled. No Church of the East or of the West knew a primate of powers so unlimited as him of the Pyrenean peninsula.

The Visigoths were now a civilized state sick unto death, destitute of energy, patriotism, or the spirit of self-sacrifice. At that moment came the disciples of Mohammed with cheeks yet unblanched by gnawing cares, and bodies parched by the suns of Africa, before whom, in the color of hope, floated the green banner of the prophet. Robust strength and the reckless fierceness bred of enthusiasm carried the day. It was Spain's dire extremity that first caused a new race to grow up in the mountains of Asturias—chivalric, pious, and fanatical, which after a heroic and bloody struggle again planted the standard of the Cross in the place of that of the Crescent.



Map.—The East-Gothic



CHAPTER XXI.

THE KINGDOM OF THE OSTROGOTHS.

(PLATE XXIV.)

HISTORICAL SOURCES.

OUR information concerning the Ostrogoths (East-Goths) and Franks is fuller than in the case of any of the other cognate tribes. The former, notwithstanding the short duration of their kingdom, attained a high degree of development before sinking in the long struggle with cultured Byzantium, which fortunately possessed writers capable of depicting the events of their time.

For the time of Theodoric our main sources are the works of Cassiodorus and Jordanes. In 538, Cassiodorus Senator, the minister and confidant of the king, compiled twelve books of epistles (*Variæ*), comprising official formulas of the time and many important documents from the royal court of judicature. He also left a bald chronicle and twelve books of Gothic history (which, however, have since been lost), the leading motive of which was to minimize the distinction between Romans and Goths. With this aim he sought to glorify the latter people, and especially their king, Theodoric. To him the Goths and Getae were the same people, and as these latter are often called Scythians, he introduces the early history of the Scythians, and even makes out the Amazons to be Gothic women. The main contents of this work seem to have been adopted by Jordanes for his "History of the Goths." This writer was the son of a notary in Moesia, and he himself followed the same profession before entering the priesthood. His works were written in 551, probably at Byzantium, whereby their standpoint and strong imperial bias are explained. He had little ability. Besides Cassiodorus, he used an otherwise unknown "History of the Goths," by Ablavius, and a "History of Byzantium and Attila," by Priscus, also lost. Intellectually he is an inferior chronicler, giving no adequate expression to the strength and spirit of the German races. It is of no little significance, that he, the first historian of German blood, closes his work with these words: "One ought not to believe that because I am of their race I have added anything in favor of the Goths, beyond what I have read or have had personal knowledge of. I have not, indeed, embodied all that has been

written or reported of them, because I write this not so much in their praise as in that of their conqueror."

Among other historians of Theodoric's time, there remains to be named Bishop Ennodius of Pavia, who, between 504 and 507, composed a panegyric on Theodoric, which, although turgid and fulsome, contains much of value. Ennodius's life of St. Epiphanius of Pavia also deserves notice, as well as numerous letters of his own.

An anonymous writer, known as Valesianus, from the name of his first editor Valesius, but supposed to be Bishop Maximian of Ravenna, has left two fragments, of which only the latter, based on a West Roman chronicle of the Fifth and Sixth Centuries, and on the lost Annals of Ravenna, comes in for consideration here. This fragment covers the period from 474 to 527, and, although disconnected and confused, is on the whole valuable. For later times, Procopius, whom we already know from his "War of the Vandals," takes a high place. His "War of the Goths," is a copious work, abounding in details. In the events treated in the earlier portion, down to the return of Belisarius to Byzantium, he himself had a share; the latter portion he treats at least as a contemporary thoroughly conversant with all that occurred. His style is occasionally somewhat theatrical, and he shows a very decided partiality for Belisarius; but he possessed an excellent insight into character and affairs, and a faculty for grouping and for vivid description. His own work closes with the battle of Vesuvius, 552. It was continued by Agathias, a learned lawyer of Asia Minor, who was skilled in rhetoric, and composed five books of "Histories," obviously interrupted by his death. Procopius wrote as a statesman and a soldier; Agathias, as a poet, rhetorician, and Christian, but without the clearness and plasticity of the master.

Summing up, we find that the latter days of the Gothic nation were described by adversaries, while, on the other hand, Theodoric's reign is depicted often by officials of his court, and on the whole in a favorable light. This is even the case with Procopius, who sees in him the patron of ancient culture and of its representatives, the Romans; and a man who, on the whole, understood how to live on good terms with Byzantium. The only author who presents us this period, not from a Gothic, but a Roman, point of view, is Johannes of Antioch, a Byzantine of the Seventh Century, of whom only short fragments remain. Through him we learn of the treacherous assassination of Odoacer and about Theodoric's kin.

Yet all these sources do not suffice adequately to illumine the atmosphere of the court. Of auxiliary sources there is not much to be said. These consist essentially of the Edict of Theodoric, architectural remains, coins, and inscriptions.

THEODORIC THE GREAT (A. D. 475-526).

"A bad Roman would gladly be a Goth, and a bad Goth, a Roman." THEODORIC.

Among the Germanic tribes which became independent after the dissolution of the great Hunnish empire, the Gepidae and Ostrogoths attained a predominant position, the former in Dacia and South Hungary, the latter in Pannonia. Protected by their mountains and presented with yearly "gifts" from the emperor, the Gepidae were able to assume the habits of a settled people, whereupon they withdrew from the stage of the world's history to occupy themselves with local feuds against hostile neighbors. It was otherwise with the Goths. On their wide-spread plains they stood in the midst of the crush of peoples, with a great future before them. On all sides they were engaged in conflicts with Suevi, Sciri, Sarmatians, Rugii, Gepidae, and others. An especially bloody fight seems to have taken place on the brook Boila, where strong allied masses confronted the whole force of the Goths. The legend spoke of it in terms used of the Catalaunian struggle: the field appeared like a sea of blood; weapons and carcasses, piled mountain-high, covered the ground for more than ten thousand paces. "When the Goths saw this they were filled with unspeakable exultation."

Nevertheless, their possessions were continually in danger, and this all the more that they were ruled by three kings "divided in locality, but one in spirit," and the main stock was weakened by strong branches breaking off from it. As far back as the time of Theodosius, Goths had founded settlements in Thrace, and their numbers were constantly augmented by immigrant additions, as well as by natural increase. Procopius calls them allies of Rome, who as soldiers received yearly pay from the emperor. Goths were settled in Epirus also, and in other places, concerning which we have no information. These conditions, temporarily prejudicial to the main stem, were such as to operate in its favor, when, following the footsteps of its Visigothic brethren, it wandered southward and drew with it the offshoots settled in these places. Political complications furthered this, and in Theodoric was a real leader.

According to the more probable accounts, Theodoric was the son of Theodemer, the most powerful of the three joint-kings, by a concubine of the Catholic faith, named Ereliva. He was born on the day of a great Gothic victory, probably in 454. While yet a child he spent ten years as a hostage in Byzantium. This sojourn, occurring just at the age of development, had momentous consequences both for him and the Gothic people. The future king of Italy becomes intelligible to us only in the light of the impression made on him when gazing as a boy on the superior civilization of Byzantium.

Beside the Pannonian, the Thracian Goths constituted a distinct mass, who stood in close relation to their countryman at the imperial court, the mighty Patrician Aspar. When he was assassinated, they supported the enemies of the Emperor Zeno, at the same time making claims for themselves. Their leader was Theodoric Strabo, son of Triarius, a kinsman of Aspar, who styled himself "King of the Goths." True to the traditional tactics of making use of one German people to destroy another, Zeno turned to the Pannonian Goths and made them his allies. They marched forth all equipped for battle, but instead of risking ruin for the sake of the Empire, the Pannonians, under the younger Theodoric, and the Thracians, under the elder (Strabo), concluded a peace. Both turned against Byzantium, without effecting anything decisive, obviously by reason of mutual jealousies fanned by the perfidious policy of the emperor.

Chaos was come again. Trouble broke out everywhere. The two Gothic leaders were sometimes united, sometimes at strife. The Pannonian required, above all, land for his people. He pressed into Macedonia; thence to Epirus, whence he cast his eyes on Italy. In Epirus he could make no stay. His men were worn out and destitute of everything, while a Roman host hung impending over them. Once more Strabo appeared before the capital and extorted a large ransom, when on a sudden he perished through an accidental wound.

This must have been for the advantage of Theodoric the younger, inasmuch as a very considerable number of the Thracians probably passed over to him. Zeno treated him with the utmost respect, granting to his adherents farms in Thrace, and conferring the consulate on him (484). The Gothic leader had become an imperial official, and as such aided in suppressing a dangerous insurrection in Asia, for which he claimed the honor of a triumph and an equestrian statue in the capital. But he had become too powerful to continue to be a vassal. In the year 487, we find him wasting the country around Byzantium, and at the same time in conflict with Odoacer, king of Italy.

According to the report of Johannes of Antioch, the Asiatic rebels had appealed to Odoacer for aid, and, although Odoacer withheld this, the emperor deemed him so unreliable, that he incited the Rugii of Noricum to attack him. Odoacer was victorious, but the Rugian royal house was related to Theodoric, and apparently the victor's Italian troops advanced within the range of the power of Pannonia, where, according to ancient custom, part of Theodoric's Ostrogoths remained behind. The hostile consequences affected the Goths and the empire alike. The interests of both pointed in the same direction and suggested a union.

According to the Valesian chronicle, the emperor sent Theodoric, now consul and patrician, with a commission (it is said extorted) to assume the rule of Italy if he could overthrow Odoacer.

The Ostrogoths, armed with their commission, now turned against the ruler of Italy in the character of imperial officials and federates. "Not with the whole folk of the Goths," but only with those who joined him, Theodoric broke camp at Novae and set out for the land of promise. Kindred Germans, especially Rugii and Gepidae, and even strangers, flowed to him on the way, as tributaries to a river. The main body gave the throng a common, almost a national, feeling, which culminated and was, as it were, personified, in the scion of the old royal house—namely, Theodoric, the Amal. His march, like the early migrations, was rather that of a whole armed people with their families and household goods, than that of an army. After many hardships, the mixed host arrived at the gate of Italy, where Odoacer was awaiting it.

For thirteen years Odoacer had ruled at will in Italy, having legitimized his forcibly assumed authority: in the interior, by treating the mercenaries and citizens as equals, and by reconciling the claims of the soldiers with those of the dwellers in the country; on the exterior, by a judicious attitude toward Byzantium. With his rise was associated the idea of a united and an independent Italy. Formally he lived under the overlordship of the Eastern emperor, who created him a patrician. In reality his power was absolute. To his German subjects he was king; to the Roman imperial officials he bore himself as if this dignity was secondary to and merged in that of the patriciate. Shrewdly he contented himself with the robes of a German king, renouncing the purple and other Roman imperial insignia, which, while of no service, might well have awakened jealousy on the Bosphorus. On the other hand, the constitution of the state, its administration and tax-system, remained as hitherto, and justice was administered in his name. He caused money to be coined, named officials, decided on peace and war, led the campaigns or let them be led by his generals. In short, he exercised all the prerogatives of a sovereign, and knew how to vindicate them when anyone endeavored to call them in question.

This was clearly evidenced in Rome on the death of Pope Simplicius. According to custom, the election of a new pastor of the capital was made by the clergy and people, the choice being approved and confirmed by the emperor. But Odoacer was not emperor, and not even a Catholic, but an Arian. Nevertheless, he sent his foremost official to superintend the election, and the Romans had to reconcile themselves to it.

Against the African Vandals, who ruled the sea, he sent a fleet with

which he captured Sicily and facilitated his operations in Dalmatia. Here the exiled Western emperor, Julius Nepos, had found a resting-place, and bore the imperial title. Odoacer let him enjoy it till he was slain in 480; whereupon the king regarded Dalmatia as a part of his dominions.

More complicated and more severe proved the above-mentioned Rugian war. The country between the Alps and the Danube was still regarded as a Roman province, but it was more and more flooded by indubitable waves of immigration, till at length the king began to fear for Italy itself. In two campaigns he settled matters with the invaders. In the first, he made captives of the Rugian king and his wife, the wild Gaisa; in the second, Friedrie, their son, was forced to take refuge among the Ostrogoths. Yet, notwithstanding his success, Odoacer seems to have recognized that he could no longer maintain this northern borderland. By his orders the provincials left their settlements; the proud Roman cities sank in decay; and soon German shepherds pastured their flocks among the ruins.

To put it in a word, the first German king of Italy had developed a strength toward outside foes and secured a condition of peace and order at home such as the peninsula had not known for a long time. Yet his rule rested on no sure foundation. To the people he was but a foreign usurper; to the priesthood, a noxious heretic. His sole reliance was on the German army. This advanced many claims, and, with the view of keeping it in good humor, he had to overlook many an offence, and treat it generously, whereat the revenues shrank. The country had long been impoverished, and industry and commerce were almost at a standstill; but the king required money, and his efforts to collect it easily appeared to the people in the light of high-handed and arbitrary extortion. When matters were in this state, the storm approached from the East.

There were many points of similarity between the two men who now confronted each other to fight for the possession of Italy, and at the same time there were not a few points of difference. Odoacer was, above all, a soldier. His sway had its origin in the Roman mercenary system. As king, he depended on his army; as patrician, on the power conveyed by the emperor and senate. Theodoric did not come as a mercenary, but as an imperial ally and imperial officer. He led what was in the main a united host, consisting of the whole strength of the Goths. He was both leader of an army and of a people. Odoacer was only the former.

In August, 489, a battle ensued at the frontier streamlet of Isonzo. Odoacer was defeated, and with that a four years' war began, whose importance brought a great proportion of the German peoples on the scene.

By the end of September, Odoacer was again in the field on the Adige near Verona. A severely contested battle was fought, which was especially disastrous to him, inasmuch as he fought with his back to the stream. From it the conqueror, Theodoric, appears to have received the name "of Bern." As "Dietrich of Bern" his heroic figure moves in triumph through legend and song. Milan was the prize of victory.

Soon the loose structure of his opponent's sway manifested itself. His power rested solely on victories, and now that he was defeated, Rome shut its gates against him; his master of the forces, Tufas, deserted to Theodoric and besieged his late sovereign in Ravenna. But now other German tribes—the Heruli and especially the Burgundians—took the field for him, Gundobad appearing at the head of the latter. Tufas returned to his lord, who, now storming forward, retook Cremona and Milan, and at Pavia reduced Theodoric almost to extremities. In his dire need help came from the Visigoths. On August 11, 490, the peoples came in collision on the Adda. Odoacer was again defeated. Treachery appears to have alienated most of the cities from him. For the second time he had to throw himself into Ravenna, which he defended with heroic courage till into the third year. Repeatedly he made efforts to disperse the besiegers, probably with support from the coast; a fourth fight was as unsuccessful as the others: all his struggles were in vain.

In August, 492, the harbor, also, was blockaded. A revolution in North Italy for the relief of the hard-pressed king did not come to a head. His needs constantly grew more terrible. At length his last resources were exhausted, and Ravenna capitulated. On March 5, 493, Theodoric made his entry.

Through the mediation of the bishop of the city, the victor had solemnly promised to spare his rival's life and to grant him a residence in Ravenna and royal honors. Yet, even thus assured, Odoacer was in peril. In the height of his prosperity he had executed the Rugian king, a relative of Theodoric, and blood-revenge was sacred among the Germans. Theodoric invited Odoacer as his guest. He came unsuspecting, when suddenly he was seized by the domestics. Mindful of Theodoric's oath to the bishop, he cried out, "Where is God?" The answer was, "I do to you what you have done to mine," and with his own hand Theodoric plunged a sword into his captive's body. The world was not large enough for both of them.¹

The embittered struggle continued to live in the mouths of the people

¹ The historical character of this narrative, found only in *Johannes of Antioch*, who lived two centuries after the event, has been stoutly denied by admirers of Theodoric. — Ed.

and found poetic expression in "The Fight of the Raven" (*Rabenschlacht*). Before the heroes enter the fight Frau Helke dreams her sons are torn to pieces by a dragon on the heath. As it seemed to her in dream, so were they defeated on the heath by the giant Wittich. Eleven days the fight raged around the raven (Ravenna). When Dietrich at length won it, the gloomy news goes forth ahead of him. He strikes off the head of the messenger and weeps blood in fierce grief. Then he starts off to pursue Wittich. Fire flashes from the hoofs of his horse: it drips with blood; he himself glows with rage till his armor melts. Wittich rushes along the shore of the sea; he falls headlong, and mermaids hide him in their bosoms of foam.

Theodoric was now sole master. In the autumn of 490 he had already besought the emperor to grant him the royal robes, whereas Odoacer had sent the tokens of his power to Byzantium. As nothing came of the request, the Goths, in virtue of their own plenitude of power, confirmed their leader as king. He was now king of the Goths and prince of Italy, or "King of the Italians and Goths." For a time, the emperor held back; then he submitted to circumstances, and in 498 sent the insignia to Theodoric. In return Theodoric had to agree to certain conditions, namely, that Roman consuls should annually be appointed by the emperor, and that the Italian coinage should bear the imperial image (Fig. 133). Theodoric's relation to his subjects and the adjoining barbarian kingdoms was in no way affected by this; in fact, according to the views of the times, his dignity was rather enhanced.

The conception obviously prevailed that only kings could spring from the German stock; emperors must grow out of the Roman state-system. The Goth now found himself a successor of the emperors. To him, in fancy, the Roman empire continued in its integrity, with Italy as the leading country of the western half, and Rome as its capital. From these two trains of thought we can explain Theodoric's position and policy. The empire of the Caesars he regarded as the prototype of his own sovereignty. Procopius says of him: "He did not deem it seasonable to assume the title and insignia of emperor, but all his life he caused himself to be entitled 'king': in reality to his subjects he was an emperor." As successor of the emperors he regarded himself as elevated above his fellow-kings and claimed precedence over them, associating with this a sort of judicial power of arbitration.

The successor of the emperors considered himself a law-abiding prince and the representative of the antique civilization of the West. He left everything as it had been under Odoacer, or put the stamp of Rome still more upon it. He filled the offices of state with Romans; seldom

or never did he appoint a Goth; and his Edict was based solely on Roman law. His respect for law and purity of administration of justice were not only admirable in themselves but effective as an example to his people. He was able to say with pride: "We have so educated our Goths that they can be entrusted with arms, as well as led by a regard for justice. This it is in which the other barbarian people are wanting, this



FIG. 133.—Coins of Theodoric. (From Friedländer.)

it is that makes you the only people that are ever in readiness for war and yet live in accordance with law along with the Romans." The amalgamation of Roman and German was his first principle, and otherwise he showed himself more of a Roman emperor than a German prince, especially in that he relied rather on policy than on arms, and appealed to these only as the last resource.

With the Vandals he concluded a treaty that left the sorely afflicted Sicily to Italy, while Corsica and Sardinia were left to the Vandals. Piracy disappeared, and gave place to friendly relations. He adopted the king of the Heruli as his son. From the Burgundians he asked the return of several thousand prisoners whom they had made in the war between him and Odoacer.

Above all, Theodoric sought to attain his ends through intermarriage. He says in a letter, "a good understanding between the chiefs brings their people closer to each other." He himself married, as a second wife, Audeflada, Clovis's sister, and gave his daughters and sister to the Visigothic king, Alaric II., the Burgundian Sigismund and the Vandal Thrasamund; a niece, to the Thuringian king, Hermanifried. As he had no son, he bestowed his daughter and heiress, Amalasuntha, upon the Amal, Eutharic, who up to this time had lived with the Visigoths. The Emperor Justin elevated him to be his son in arms. In short, through treaties, marriage, alliances, adoptions, embassies, and presents, he had woven, as it were, a political web, all the threads of which he held in his own hand. As a statesman of far-reaching plans he is second to no German potentate.

The contemporaneous great powers were Byzantium and the Franks. To the former the Goths were, in some measure, treaty-bound; and the Franks, since Clovis's accession, had pressed forward in an adventurous career of victory and conquest. His relation to these two constituted, then, the hinge on which his foreign policy turned. Dealings with Byzantium were to occupy the beginning and end of his reign, and the Franks the intervening period. A passage of arms ensued between him and the Emperor Anastasius, perhaps because the latter had not acknowledged the conqueror of Odoacer. Then came a period of peace, when Church questions came up to occupy the Goths. Anastasius had deviated from the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon and had thus come into collision with the Pope.

A dispute between the latter and the Patriarch of Constantinople complicated matters, the result of which was a fierce controversy regarding the powers of the successor of St. Peter. On February 1, 495, Pope Gelasius I. declared that, in virtue of his supreme authority, he was executor of the decrees of synods, and that while he might set aside any decree of a bishop, his own were above judgment, so that though appeals might be made to him from all parts of the world, none lay against a papal decision. But for the countenance of Theodoric, whose policy was friendly to the Church, Gelasius would never have ventured so far; now, well or ill, he was thrown for support on the Arian. Theodoric, with his wonted shrewdness, showed respect for the religious feelings of the Romans, and instead of directly interfering with Church matters, like Odoacer, let these be determined by a synod. But when dissension showed itself in Rome, and a double election followed, he cast his influence in favor of him who seemed to offer the best guarantee for maintaining an independent position. The consequence of all this was a closer relation between the ruler and the capital, which received expression in his visit thither in 500. Theodoric's entry was like a triumph of the old emperors. Outside the gate he was received by the senate, clergy, and people; he then visited the Basilica of St. Peter's, and—Arian as he was—offered up his prayers on the grave of the chief of the apostles, whereupon the procession moved over the bridge of Hadrian into the city. In the senate-house the king made a public address and vowed to maintain the institutions of the emperors. Enthusiastic applause followed, and his words were engraved on brass. The people, gratified by games and largesses, proclaimed him a Trajan or Valentinian.

Notwithstanding their relationship, it was with the Franks that the Ostrogoths had the most trouble. This people had defeated the Alamanni, and driven many of them within Ostrogothic territory, where

they became settled in the modern canton of the Grisons. Clovis pursued them over the frontier, not stopping till he received a warning from his brother-in-law, when he proceeded to turn his attention to the Visigoths. In vain did Theodoric exert himself to maintain peace. Clovis, allied with the Burgundians, opened the war, and seized nearly the whole of the Visigothic dominions in Gaul. For nearly a year Theodoric hesitated about intervening; then, on his dispatching a strong army under Count Ibba, came the reaction—the one complete overthrow experienced by the Franks, and which we perhaps see mirrored in the legend which tells that only Dietrich of Bern was able to subdue Siegfried, the hero from the low country. Theodoric took the kingdom of the Visigoths under his protection, and upheld it until his death. The Amal received additional increase of territory in Gaul, at the cost of the Burgundians, this time having craftily got the Franks to do the fighting for him. Before this, he had secured the eastern frontier of his kingdom by driving the Gepidae out of Sirmium, to which the Goths of Pannonia laid claim. The Ostrogothic empire extended now to the Rhone, Danube, and Save, Dalmatia included, so that its dominions beyond Italy were as extensive as within. To this were added, through personal connection, the southwest of France, and the greater part of Spain. The fame of Theodoric's name spread to the remote Esthonians on the Baltic, who sent him ambassadors and gifts. To his glory abroad corresponded that of his administration at home.

The population of his empire consisted of two broadly-distinguished groups—the Goths and the provincials—each living after its own manners. In addition there was a tolerably large Jewish population in the larger cities. Theodoric, unlike the Visigoths, was friendly to this people, causing the inhabitants of Ravenna to rebuild their synagogue, which they had burned down. In his later conflicts with Byzantium, we find Jews fighting for the Goths. The latter constituted his real armed power, living in their native fashion, and after the Arian rite. Their sword and spear had made and kept them lords of the land, and in its king they recognized the culmination of their national glory. They appeared before him in public military drills, and schools were opened for their education. Theodoric announced that while on the Germans lay the obligation of fighting for Italy, on the Italians lay that of maintaining peaceful industry. A body-guard, who drew regular pay, surrounded the person of the king. Not to leave the mastery of the sea to the Byzantines and Vandals, he collected a fleet.

Peace and security afforded the shrunk germs of national weal an opportunity to sprout anew. Theodoric did not fail on his side. The

hardly oppressed *Carichs* were assisted to rise, husbandry was fostered, acres that had long lain desolate were restored to fertility, and malarious swamps converted into dry land. Harbors were fitted up for the accommodation of foreign merchants, home commerce was promoted by increased facilities for intercourse and by sound laws. The city gates always stood open so that every one could go on his lawful calling by day or night. Capital and industry returned, and pleasure in life and a spirit of enterprise followed in their train; above all, art and literature revived.

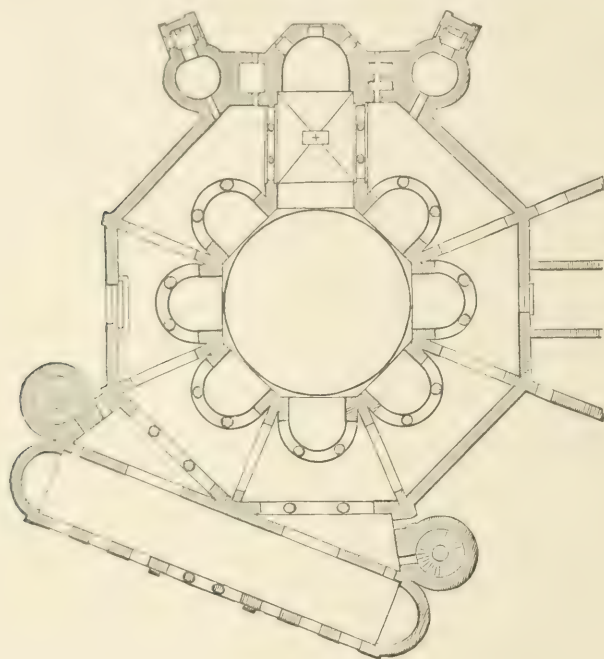


FIG. 134.—Ground-plan of the church of San Vitale at Ravenna. (From Kugler and Lübke.)

Rome and Ravenna had their own boards of public works. For the maintenance and restoration of the old edifices, Theodoric repeatedly paid money from his private purse. The two old capitals enjoyed his special favor, as well as the two rising ones—Pavia and Verona. In Rome, he caused the city walls, the theatre of Pompey, and the aqueducts, to be repaired, the great sewers to be cleansed, and statues erected. In Verona, he constructed baths, a palace, and an aqueduct, and renewed the city walls; in Pavia, a palace, baths, an amphitheatre, and new city walls were erected. Remains of his works are to be found most plentifully in Ravenna, of which the basilicas of San Vitale and Santa Maria

della Rotonda are examples (Figs. 134, 135). The king also built a palace in Ravenna, of which only one side remains, as a part of the monastery of San Apollinare (Figs. 136-140), vividly recalling Diocletian's villa at Salona. In the country of the Tridentini he founded the new city of Trent. The arts of mosaic (Fig. 140) and carving flourished,

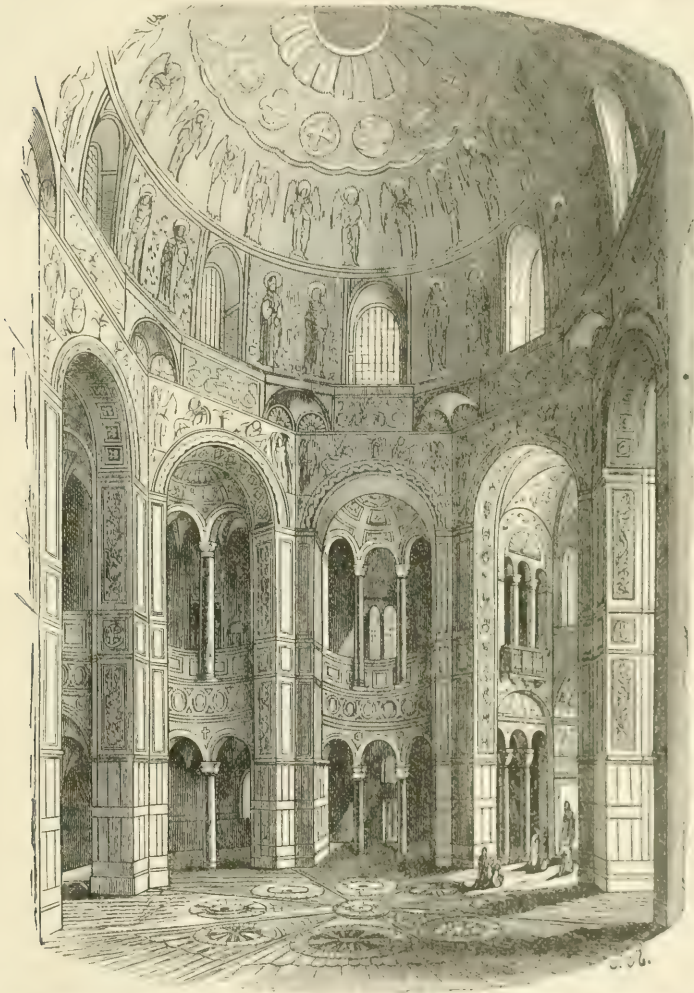


FIG. 135. Interior of the church of San Vitale at Ravenna. (From Hübsch and Kugler)

which gave rise to an artistic tradition in Ravenna long surpassing that of other Italian cities.

Science advanced hand-in-hand with art; and literature had, as it were, a second summer, so fruitful that on it was based much of the cul-

ture of the Middle Ages. Jurisprudence and medicine were publicly taught in Rome and probably in other cities; philosophy, poetry, the-



FIG. 136.—Remains of the palace of Theodoric at Ravenna. (From v. Quast.)

ology, and historiography had each its representatives. Boëthius and Cassiodorus are the classics of the period, at whose side Symmachus and Ennodius deserve notice. The former, of illustrious rank, strove to re-



FIG. 137.—San Apollinare in Classe. (From v. Quast and Lübke.)

vivify sinking paganism by collecting and revising the neglected works of the past. Boëthius (born about 480) was his son-in-law, and early won the regard of Theodoric, who, in 510, decorated him with the consulate. An Aristotelian, who translated a series of works of this school into Latin, and an admirer of Plato, he nowhere appears as a Christian. Still there is nothing in his system which conflicts with Christianity. His most famous work—composed in prison—is his “*Consolations of Philosophy*.”

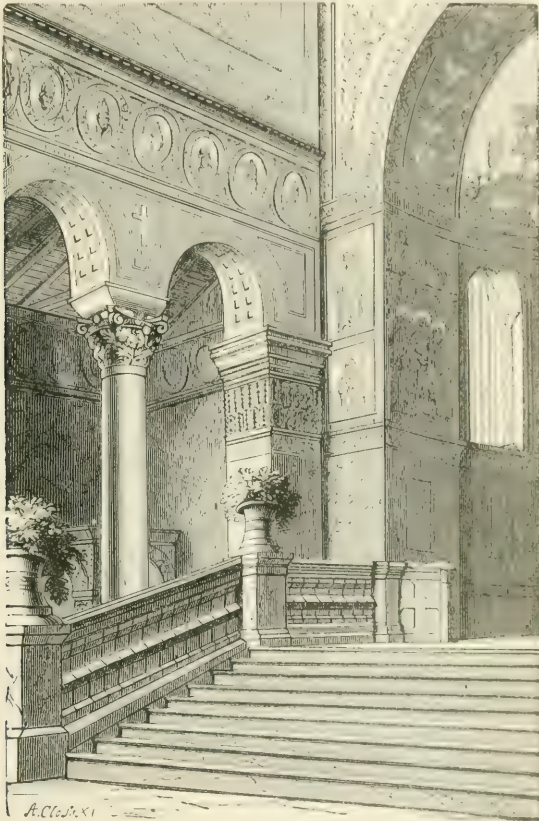


FIG. 138.—San Apollinare in Classe. (From v. Quast and Lübke.)

He has been termed the last of the Romans and the last philosopher. Cassiodorus Senator had a much more practical spirit. In his distinguished house was embodied, as it were, the idea of Odoacer—an independent Italy under German leadership, side by side with the Byzantine Empire. As the minister of Theodoric and his successors he sought to administer the government on the old lines, and as a historian astonished the Romans by telling them that the Goths as a people, and the royal house of the

Amals in particular, were the equals of the Romans in antiquity and nobility, nay, even in culture. His writings are the main sources of information for the efforts made toward equalization and fusion of the two races. When the age resounded with the din of Byzantine arms, he retired, sixty years old and wearied of the world, into the Bruttian monastery



FIG. 170. Interior of the Nave of San Apollinare in Classe. (From Hübsch and Kugler.)

of Vivarium, where he was spared to learning three and thirty years, publishing excerpts from the Bible, and writing on things human and divine.

If we compare the Italy of this period with that of the desolate preceding century, we realize the greatness of the progress under Ostrogothic

rule. Italy was once more the land of culture for the West, as Byzantium for the East. But this culture was entirely a second blossom of Roman genius.

This renaissance was governed by an impulse to imitation, which strove to preserve whatever had been handed down from antiquity, though in a tasteless form and under the influence of the Church. Not fewer than four codes of Roman law were matured in this Fifth Century. Its literature is marked by florid weakness; and, as in art, technical execution is the predominant feature, while the antique motive is sometimes



FIG. 140.—Christ before Pilate. Mosaic in the Church of San Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna. (From J. P. Richter.)

transformed and often misunderstood. Not the warm glow of life, but the outwardly conventional and formal constitutes the essential feature. Theodoric's domestic policy was to rely for military purposes on the Goths, for fiscal and intellectual, on the provincials; and to assimilate both the peoples as much as possible, or at least to unify them under the shield of the law. As an exterior defence his aim was to environ independent Italy with neutral border-lands, to unite the Eastern and Western Goths, and so to exalt his name that it, combined with the prestige of the everlasting city and his policy of peace, should be an additional guar-

anted for quiet along his frontiers. Yet his difficulties were rather concealed than overcome. Italians and Goths were in immediate contact; the latter protected and repressed the former by the sword, but there was no community of feeling, and his army was small. The mass of the provincials were cowards with deadened political sympathies. They did not love Byzantium, and at the same time despised the ruling barbarian. Their lord was but half an emperor and a foreigner; as soon as the real emperor of the East appeared, their old-time feelings awoke in his favor.

Theodoric himself was to experience this. In his desire for peace he had assented to a renewal of concord between Rome and Byzantium, and so not only forfeited the security that their dissensions afforded, but also gave to the religious union of the West and East an anti-Arian tendency. Moreover the newly strengthened empire on the Bosphorus reasserted under Justin and Justinian its claims for universal sway. The position of the king of the Goths became critical.

He sought to set matters right by an embassy to the Byzantine emperor, with Pope John I. at its head. John effected nothing, and may have intended to effect nothing: at least, such was Theodoric's surmise. A correspondence between the Roman senate and the emperor becoming known, the king took vigorous measures. Boethius supported one of the offenders, whereupon he and the pope were cast into prison. Boethius and Symmachus were beheaded and the pope died.

These deeds of violence did not tend to reconcile the Romans to Theodoric's rule, while his reputation among the Vandals was undermined by the influence of Constantinople. A war not only between the king and emperor, but a religious war between Catholics and Arians seemed imminent, when, August 30, 526, Theodoric died of dysentery, leaving no son to succeed him. His remains were deposited at Ravenna, in a magnificent tomb (Fig. 141).

Catholic tradition has it that Boethius and Symmachus died innocent, and that Theodoric, when sitting one day at the table, believed that in the head of a fish that was being served, he saw that of Symmachus staring at him with distressed features and rolling eyes. Overcome with terror, he fell sick and expired. A monk heard his soul wailing in the fiery pit.

Very different is the German heroic saga. In it Theodoric is the central figure, the first Teutonic hero. Wodan himself lets his favorite son ravish the eyes of men by his black horse from the royal palace. In the *Nibelungenlied*, he stands as the pre-eminent peace-breathing spirit; irresistible when compelled to fight, and conquering the invincible. But even then he slays not, but spares life.

Theodoric was the child of his time. He allowed himself to be flattered, and like a Louis XIV. and an emperor on the Bosphorus, by no means free from cupidity and lust for power, he boldly had recourse to craft and violence. He made a collection of objects of art and *vertu* "well worth seeing," and, like many eminent statesmen, loved to build. He pursued his ends tenaciously. Terrible to his enemies, he was to his friends and subjects a noble king. His saying regarding an adherent of Odoacer evidences no less shrewdness than magnanimity: "I recompense



FIG. 141.—The tomb of Theodoric at Ravenna. (From Förster.)

him gladly because he served my enemies faithfully; in his change of fortune he is to me all the dearer, the more hostile he formerly showed himself."

Theodoric was neither wildly romantic like Genseric, terrible like Clovis, nor possessed of the warrior-spirit of Euric; he was rather of a cold, restrained nature, of almost classic repose. But his political creations, brilliant as they showed themselves, were of short duration,

because the time was not ripe for them. Imperishable, on the other hand, remain his services to culture and civilization. He is the sole German king of his kind, and it is not by accident that even so early a writer as Procopius calls him the most famous of all barbarian kings, and that history knows him as Theodoric the Great.

THEODORIC'S SUCCESSORS (A. D. 526-555).

When Theodoric found his end approaching he is said to have summoned the great men of the Goths, and to have installed his scarcely ten-year-old grandson, Athalaric, as king (Fig. 142), charging them as his last will that they should honor their new lord, love the Roman senate and people, and seek the favor of the emperor of the East next to that of God. The succession was carried out after the manner of the later Empire; Athalaric's father being dead, his mother became regent. Up to this time the Goths had known nothing of female rule. Amalasuntha, the regent,



FIG. 142. Coins of Athalaric. (From Friedländer.)

through her devotion to science and art, in the arrogance of culture became estranged from her people, and favored the provincials, trying so to train up her son "that he might become the equal of Roman princes." Her position bred a spirit of discord which permeated the whole of her regency to the gain of the watchful foe in Byzantium. One day several Gothic princes appeared before her and declared that schoolmasters and old men were of no avail in training her boy to be a Gothic king. He must, according to custom, grow up in the exercise of arms among older comrades. This was granted; but Athalaric took to bad companions and neglected his mother, while his adherents openly called on her to resign the regency.

The prince was not yet of age, so the queen banished the three ring-leaders from the court, and when they were plotting revenge, she anticipated them by assassination—a deed fraught with fatal consequences, because it was done, not in the consciousness of her own strength, but in dependence on Byzantium. Amalasuntha had begged, and received promise of, an asylum from the emperor in case her plan should miscarry—the same emperor who even then was carrying on a war of extermination against the Vandals. The short-sighted daughter of Theodoric thus became the betrayer of her own kingdom. Her policy of weakening the territorial nobility Justinian used to his own advantage, being assisted therein by his position as emperor. Theodahad, lord of the greatest part of Tuscany and uncle of the queen, was a man of Roman training, but cowardly and avaricious. By his efforts to bring all Tuscany under his sway, he had come in collision with Amalasuntha. For honors and money he was ready to hand over the land to Justinian, while Amalasuntha herself has been suspected, probably unjustly, of cherishing the



FIG. 143.—Coins of Theodahad.

same design, though on a more extensive scale. Just at that time Athalaric died, and Amalasuntha's claim to the regency fell, so that Theodahad, as the nearest male relative, had the clearest title to the throne. Had he been a man of energy and popularity he would no doubt have made this good; but he was neither, and Amalasuntha refused to acknowledge his claims. She sent for him and offered him the co-regency on the conditions that he should bear the name of king and she continue to exercise all the powers. Theodahad professed to consent, but had her imprisoned and killed in 534, although Justinian had declared her his ward.

Theodahad now reigned alone (Fig. 143), but at the price of a war with Justinian. Belisarius had returned victorious with an effective army from Africa, and it had now become the vogue in the palace on the Bosphorus to regard the West and especially Italy as a dependence of the Empire of the East. Circumstances were propitious: the emperor could assume the rôle of the avenger of Amalasuntha. He won over the Franks, which, however, did not prevent them from entering into relations with Theodahad.

Without any declaration of war, an irregular imperial host entered Dalmatia with the view of surprising the important city of Salona. The main army, under Belisarius, was shipped to Sicily with the view of winning by a lucky blow the granary of Italy. The number of the troops—7000—is an evidence of the little importance Justinian attached to the campaign. Salona and Sicily fell, only Palermo offering any resistance of consequence.

Thus a war opened which lasted, with short intermission, for twenty years. To understand it aright we must briefly review the position of affairs. The Goths were distributed very unequally over Italy. The main mass was concentrated in Lombardy, the Romagna, and Picenum, so that Ravenna constituted the natural base. Over the rest of the land they were sparsely scattered, scarcely any being found in Calabria, Apulia, and Sicily. Here, too, the cities were unwallled; only a few main towns, as Palermo, Syracuse, Cumae, and Naples were protected by forts and Gothic garrisons. South Italy was thus the Achilles's heel of Italy, and here, consequently, Justinian made his onset. In the North the Goths had fortresses, but they were in but indifferent condition. Concerning the strength of the Goths we have no accurate information; but they were strong enough to cope with the enemy, and they lacked nothing but good leadership. Courage and devotion inspired them within; externally they were thoroughly equipped for the fight. Their weak point was the conduct of sieges, offensive and defensive, and it was their fate that Italy had always been a land of cities.

For the provincials the centre of attraction was Rome, which still retained its old spell-like charm, now enhanced and hallowed by the presence of the pope. But its fortifications were likewise in ruins. To the Goths three possibilities offered themselves for a successful war—to meet the foe on the open field; to conduct a guerilla war; to repair the strong places, especially Rome; in the last case they could place the foe under the disadvantage of being the besieger, liable to be fallen on in the rear and cut off from provisions. These possibilities were insufficiently, or not at all, realized by the Goths.

As a state Byzantium was by far more powerful than the Gothic kingdom; but the demands on it were more than proportionately greater, so that for a war of conquest it had at times only a very inadequate force at its disposal. Often, but by no means uniformly, it could reckon on the sympathy of the provincials, but this was unreliable, and, at best, that of a people long unaccustomed to arms. The Jews stood by the Goths. Many of them had, at first, favored the emperor, but this was before their passions were aroused, and while the prestige of the Byzantine

name and Byzantine gold had still an effect. Moreover, the imperial mercenaries deserted in masses to the Goths. The feelings of nationality were weakly developed in the Byzantine host, comprised, as it was, of the most various races, held together only by pay and strict discipline.

King Theodahad himself, with his Roman training, inclined strongly to Byzantium. Even after the opening of the war, he made overtures to Justinian, writing him as follows: "To war and noise of arms I am little accustomed, for I am inspired by a love for the sciences. If I had only estates that would yield me a yearly income of 1200 pounds of gold, I should be happier with them than with the king's crown, and I would at once place in your hands the sovereignty of both Goths and Italians." But on Theodahad's learning of a victory gained by his people in a bloody fight with the Greeks who had pressed forward into Dalmatia, he suddenly veered round, shut up the Byzantine envoys in prison, and dispatched his son-in-law, Evermud, to the south, to cover the mainland near Reggio di Calabria.

The emperor was in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war. Belisarius received orders to cross into Italy, and Constantine advanced into Dalmatia and became, without a stroke, master of the land as far as Istria. Evermud, unreliable and unwarlike as his master, lost his head on the approach of danger, threw himself at the feet of Belisarius and begged to be taken into the emperor's service. The Greeks were now free to march right across the peninsula, and, setting out from Reggio, advanced without opposition to Naples, along the western shore, all the while accompanied by the fleet. Here they came upon resistance. The city was strongly fortified, and had a Gothic garrison, as well as a population generally hostile to the Byzantines. Negotiations and assaults failed. Not wishing to exhaust his strength before the strong walls, or to advance on Rome leaving an enemy in his rear, Belisarius was in a quandary, when an Isaurian discovered an entrance by means of the aqueduct. This was used for a sally in the night. Frightful slaughter ensued, and not even the churches were spared. Only with difficulty did Belisarius succeed in restoring order.

Theodahad did nothing by way of relief. He lingered in Rome, and ever louder rose against him the cry of treachery. It is not clear whether he sent an army under Vitiges against Belisarius, which made its general king, or whether at length at a national assembly on the Sessio, between Terracina and Anagni, Theodahad was declared unworthy, and Vitiges (536-539) elevated in his stead. Theodahad fled, and fell by the hand of an assassin. With him the dynasty of the Amals came to a close. Vitiges's title consisted in the voice of the people and the belief that

he was a relative of Theodoric, whose deeds it was hoped he would renew. Yet so powerful was the prestige of the old house that he divorced his wife and compelled Matasuntha, daughter of Amalasuntha, to marry him (Fig. 144). It soon appeared that Vitiges was not the man for the emergency. A brave swordsman, he was no general. On Theodahad's death the strength of the Goths had still been unbroken; under Vitiges it went to pieces forever.

No attack was made on the advancing Belisarius, and instead of defending Rome with all his power, the king marched away from it with his army, leaving only an insufficient garrison. This may be regarded



FIG. 144.—Coins of Matasuntha.

(From Friedländer.)

Coin of Vitiges.

as the essential mistake of the whole war, for on the walls of Rome the power of the Goths was to be shattered. If the Romans had up to this time wavered as to what they should do, this retreat, and the exhortation of Pope Silverius not to expose themselves to the fate of Naples, decided them. Arriving by the Via Latina, Belisarius made his entry on December 9, 536.

As in Africa he had made Carthage, so Belisarius now made Rome his base of operations, provisioning it abundantly, as well as restoring and enlarging the fortifications. The defection of many Goths, who refused to submit to Vitiges, was of great advantage to him. A large part of Middle Italy and the whole of the South fell into his hands. These successes, combined with the inactivity and general recoil of the Goths, produced a sort of panic, so that strong places, like Narni, Spoleto, and Perugia, were lost to them.

During this time, Vitiges celebrated his nuptials in Ravenna, and prepared for war. In order to cover the North, he gave up to the Franks the Gothic district of Gaul, and paid them 2000 pounds, in consideration of which they promised to send him secretly an effective contingent. They bound themselves thus to the Goths without breaking with the Greeks. As the latter drew closer to Ravenna, and at Perugia dispersed a large Gothic army, Vitiges saw that he must act without waiting for the arrival of the Gallie Goths. Sending a division of his army to reconquer Dalmatia, he himself, with the main body (which Procopius vastly overrates at 150,000 men) advanced against Rome.

Belisarius, after he had gathered in all his effective forces, awaited his coming. The Milvian bridge was fortified, but was given up on being deserted by its troops.

The memorable first siege of Rome began. The extent of its walls prevented the Goths from enclosing it entirely. They therefore erected seven camps, fortified by ditches and palisades. They then destroyed the aqueducts and plundered the adjacent fields and estates, to disgust the citizens with war and turn them against Belisarius. On the eighteenth day, the Goths advanced to the storm from all sides. The struggle was of the hottest, but superior skill secured the victory for the Greeks. Only at the mausoleum of Hadrian, near the Aurelian gate, were the Goths on the point of success. They had rushed forward suddenly, and, amid a storm of missiles, succeeded in planting ladders against the walls under the cover of their shields. Then a happy thought struck the hard-pressed defenders. They smashed up the statues which ornamented the sepulchre, and threw the blocks on the heads of their foes. The Gothic loss was heavy.

The siege now took another form—that of starving into surrender. The Goths let nothing enter from the country, and they gained possession of the channel of the Tiber at Porto, so as to cut off communication by water. Belisarius sent all the ineffective population out of Rome to South Italy, diminished the rations, wrote to the emperor for reinforcements, joined citizens and soldiers in the watch, and tried to weary out the enemy by skirmishes before the walls. A sortie miscarried. As the distress became greater the spirit of the citizens wavered in favor of the Goths, but Belisarius had his eyes everywhere and acted with decision. His superiority in generalship, general management, and armaments, all told, and cheered even the most faint-hearted, so that the Romans soon lent effective help in defence.

But winter came, and with it plague and famine. At length relief approached. The Goths, too, had suffered severely, and they agreed to an armistice of three months, which, utilized in an embassy to the emperor, it was hoped would secure peace if possible. In the meantime they evacuated Porto and Cività Vecchia, because of the difficulty of watching them, not dreaming that the Greeks would take possession of them in spite of the truce. Belisarius sent his cavalry to winter outside of Rome. The faith in his cause had already risen so high that the Bishop of Milan, with several men of rank, waited on him and begged him for an imperial garrison. Belisarius consented. The enemy in turn soon broke the truce, and Belisarius took advantage of this to ravage the country in their rear. Even Rimini fell into the hands of the Byzan-

times, who once more appeared before Ravenna. Here lived Vitiges's spouse, Matasuntha, who, still burning with resentment on account of her compulsory marriage, felt a malicious joy over the fall of Rimini, and entered into a treasonable correspondence with the enemy.

Threatened in the very centre of their power, the Goths dared not tarry longer before Rome. Means of living and hope alike failed them. They had environed the city for more than a year and attained nothing. At the spring equinox, therefore, they set fire to their works and began their retreat. When one half had crossed the bridge of the Tiber, the other was attacked by Belisarius and driven with great loss into the river. The Goths marched against Rimini, by way of Orvieto, Todi, and Caesena, leaving garrisons everywhere. An assault on this important city miscarried, and, as at Rome, the Goths determined to starve the defenders into surrender.

This afforded Belisarius time. He dispatched a detachment to Genoa, with orders to cross the Apennines and Po, and occupy a number of cities, especially Milan. This effected, he had a secure base for North Italy also. The Goths felt that this must be broken up. Vitiges sent strong forces, and even the Franks, mistrustful of the spread of Byzantine power, dispatched 10,000 (?) Burgundians; these troops combined surrounded Milan before it was sufficiently provisioned. With the winter the third year of the war came to a close.

The next summer saw friend and foe again in the field. Belisarius, leaving Rome, besieged Todi and Chiusi; Vitiges sent a band against Ancona, which nearly recaptured it at the first assault. A second Byzantine force of 8000 to 9000 men, with 2000 Herulian auxiliaries, under the energetic Narses, effected a junction with the army of Belisarius not far from Rimini. Meanwhile starvation stared the garrison of this closely-invested city in the face. It was delivered by a skilfully concerted movement of the land forces and fleet, which so distracted the Goths that they retreated hastily, leaving their camp and a large portion of their effects behind them.

This success awoke envy. Narses and his friends were loth to see Belisarius carry off the sole glory of the conquest of Italy, and discord declared itself at headquarters. Many general and eminent officials took sides in secret against Belisarius. Still they did not openly desert him, and the armies marched in separate columns to Urbino; but when Belisarius made preparations for an attack, Narses raised the siege and returned to Rimini, with the view of subduing Emilia, and of bringing Belisarius into difficulties. He succeeded in both objects, only an accident giving Urbino to Belisarius, while he was still less fortunate before

Orvieto, whose garrison held out despite all sufferings. Everywhere these became more severe as the war was protracted. The fields lay uncultivated; famine and disease prevailed. In fertile Picenum 50,000 country people are said to have died of hunger, and even more in the districts more remote from the coast. Many tried to eat grass and acorns; even cannibalism was practised.

In closely invested Milan matters were at extremities. An army, sent by Belisarius for its relief, did not dare to attack the more numerous foe, and lay inactive on the Po. Belisarius ordered some neighboring bands of Narses to reinforce it, but they declined to move without directions from their own general. Precious time was lost, and Milan fell. A terrible retribution awaited the traitors within the city. Procopius relates (doubtless extravagantly) that the town was destroyed, all the male inhabitants, to the number of 300,000, put to death, and all the women made slaves. The fate of Milan induced other cities in the district to submit to their old masters. To put an end to the discord at head-quarters, Narses was recalled to Byzantium.

The effect was quickly visible. Belisarius devised a scheme for putting an end to the war by the capture of Ravenna. To attack the Gothic capital at once seemed too perilous, both on account of its strength and because it could be relieved from Picenum, Tuscany, or North Italy. Instead, a besieging army invested Fiesole, another detachment occupied Tortona with the view of keeping Pavia and Milan in check, while Belisarius himself sat down before Osimo, then the most important city of Picenum and "the key of Ravenna." The siege of the two towns was in progress, when another foe appeared—the Franks. This people had sworn to treaties with both the Goths and Romans, but, faithless to both, thought only of making use of the opportunity for aggrandizing themselves. A section of them, therefore, entered Italy under their king, Theodebert, with the object of carving out a conquest for themselves. They bore themselves at first with such moderation that the Goths greeted them as friends. Scarcely, however, had they got possession of the important bridge over the Po, at Pavia, when they fell upon the unsuspecting Goths. A Gothic corps for the relief of Fiesole lay at no great distance, and opposite this a Byzantine force from Tortona had taken up a position. The Franks attacked and scattered their suspicious kinsmen, and then threw themselves with like result on the imperial troops. In wild flight, the former foes poured intermingled over Tuscany. The victors reaped no harvest. The strange diet and climate produced fatal diseases, and soon their king was on his way homeward.

Meanwhile, Fiesole and Osimo remained under siege. In vain did the

beleaguered garrisons send messages to Vitiges declaring their distress. He gave fair words, but wasted the time in inactivity behind the walls of Ravenna. In a desperate conflict with hunger, thirst, and the foe, the defenders held out till the last remnants of their strength gave way, when they surrendered, Fiesole first, then Osimo. The army beleaguering Osimo was strengthened by the troops from Fiesole; the defenders of Osimo, after longer negotiations, also entered the imperial service, publicly renouncing the Gothic cause.

Reinforced by them, as well as by a Dalmatian contingent, Belisarius could now turn against the insufficiently victualled Ravenna. Once more the Franks interposed, and offered to make common cause with the Goths if they were granted joint dominion over Italy, but Vitiges preferred to negotiate with the emperor. Embassies passed between the two monarchs, but in the meanwhile Venetia was lost, and the want in the city became even greater. At this crisis, the granaries went up in flames, set on fire by provincials bribed by Belisarius or Matasuntha. A relieving army was diverted by troubles in the valleys of the Alps. Closer and closer the iron girdle drew around the doomed city. Belisarius had all but reached his goal.

But now plenipotentiaries appeared from Byzantium and offered the Goths peace on condition of their surrendering one-half of the royal treasury and contenting themselves with the left bank of the Po. Eagerly did the sinking people grasp at the proposals. Belisarius, on the contrary, refused to sign the treaty because he regarded Vitiges as being now in his power. He summoned a council of war, but this came to the conclusion that the Byzantines were not in a position to gain the mastery over the enemy. Nevertheless, the general dallied, and the besieged were reduced to the last stage of weakness.

The foremost Goths, dissatisfied with Vitiges, met and offered the crown to Belisarius. They thought they could the more confidently rely on his ambition, because he appeared to be no longer in favor with the emperor, and it was not a new thing for a victorious general to cast the purple around his shoulders. Belisarius ostensibly consented, and the gates of Ravenna were opened to him. He made his entry along with imperial envoys, and purveyed bread-corn. The proud fortress had fallen without a single struggle. When the Gothic women saw the puny, unsightly forms of the victors, they spat in their men's faces and taunted them with cowardice. Belisarius kept Vitiges in honorable custody, took possession of the treasury without injuring the Goths in their rights, and evicted all who dwelt south of the Po from their possessions. He took this last step in order to minimize the chances of a

rising. The fall of the capital had a far-reaching effect. Italy seemed conquered; the victor, Belisarius, turned homeward to Byzantium.

Manifold motives induced his return. Chosroes, king of Persia, had declared war against Justinian, encouraged thereto in no little degree by the occupation of a part of the imperial forces in the West. An embassy from the Goths had reached him. Justinian's main military interests now lay in the East, and Belisarius was his best general. Besides, the emperor did not desire that he should longer remain in Italy, for envious tongues were busy charging him with aiming at the sovereignty of that country. Belisarius arrived at Constantinople by sea, accompanied by Vitiges and Matasuntha, as well as captive Gothic princes, and the royal treasure. No triumph was decreed him, such as celebrated his victory over the Vandals. All the greater was the admiration of the people. In thick masses they awaited his coming, and pressed round him as soon as he showed himself in the streets. Vandals, Goths, and Moors constituted his train. A man of noble aspect, he preserved under his harness of iron a gentle and generous heart. Vitiges received the dignity of the patriciate, and enjoyed the favor of the emperor till his death two years later.

The unbroken series of victories, the fall of Ravenna, and the want of concert in the leading of the Goths, conspired to induce the emperor to regard them as subdued, and their kingdom as a Roman province. He appointed no new commander-in-chief therefore, but left only a few generals in the land. Scarcely were these free from the hand of Belisarius when they began to administer affairs after the Byzantine fashion. They levied contributions on the Romans, and permitted their soldiers to do the same. A notorious extortioner entered Ravenna as collector-general of taxes, who, by his practices, roused soldiers and provincials alike. Within a short time affairs became thoroughly entangled, a condition all the more serious as the discontent of the Romans was coincident with a Gothic national reaction.

In the strong city of Verona the Goth Ildibad still maintained himself unsubdued, and all Lombardy remained independent. When it became known that Belisarius had renounced the crown, the Goths betook themselves to Pavia and offered it to Uraias, a nephew of Vitiges. He diverted their choice to Ildibad, in whose favor were not only his age, gallantry, and noble birth, but also his relationship to the Visigothic king, Theudis. Ildibad was called to Pavia and saluted as king (540). He collected the dispersed Goths and discontented Byzantine mercenaries, and soon won back the greater part of Northern Italy. The most of the hostile generals remained inactive. One who threw

himself against the Goths suffered severe loss. It is very significant that the core of this general's force consisted of German Herulians.

A women's quarrel was destined to destroy the hopeful beginning. The rich and beautiful wife of Uraias met the royal spouse in mean attire in the bath. Instead of showing the royal lady honor, she treated her with contempt. The queen retired in tears, and instigated her husband to revenge. Uraias fell by the hand of an assassin, but a body-guardsmen, who was incensed against Ildibad, struck his head off at a banquet. Uraias's murder was avenged, and the sixth year of the war came to a close. The black deed brought confusion and discouragement, and awakened ambition in various quarters. Ildibad had been elevated by the national Gothic party; his murderer was a Gepidan, and now the Rugians came to the foreground, suddenly elevating one of their tribesmen, Erarie (541), to the throne. In their dire necessity, the Goths at first acknowledged him, but he soon became an object of aversion to them. Their opposition reacted on Erarie, and engendered in him thoughts of betraying the land to the emperor. Within a few months he died, like his predecessors, a death of violence, and the crown passed to the youthful Totilas (in Gothic also known as Badwila), who reigned from 541 to 552 (Fig. 145).

Totilas was a Goth of noble blood and a nephew of Ildibad. A shrewd, energetic character, and an unflinching upholder of exclusively Gothic supremacy, he would rather have seen his country in the hands of the emperor than of a Rugian, and did not, therefore, hesitate to prompt the assassination of Erarie. He was to have a chance of earning his bloodily-won dignity. At last the emperor spurred his troops on to action. They entered Verona through treachery, but quarrelled so desperately over the division of the booty, that the retreating garrison was emboldened to retrace its steps, and falling on those who had pressed into the city, overpowered them. The main army left them to their fate, while it returned to Emilia and encamped near Faenza. Discord continued rampant.

Totilas struck the first blow. He forded the river Arno, assailed the foe in the front, and, during the disorder, caused a detachment to fall on their rear. The Byzantines broke in wild flight, leaving behind them dead, wounded, prisoners, and standards. It was a Gothic victory won in the open field, and an evidence of what Vitiges had neglected. There followed a second conflict near Florence, in which the Goths appear to have fought against vast odds. There, too, the Greek host fled in dismay. The result was that all united action in the army was at an end. Each commander threw himself into a separate city, and thought only of defend-

ing his own. As a rule, these generals turned out an oppressive burden on the people, for no pay was forwarded from Byzantium. The soldiers became utterly insubordinate, and made good their losses at the expense of the provincials, while their leaders abandoned themselves to the indulgence of their lusts. Totilas, on the other hand, won the hearts of the people by his humane generosity, and induced many prisoners to enter the Gothic ranks. Probably in view of the fact that Middle Italy was too strongly held by the foe, and that he was losing precious time by besieging cities, he now made a dash to the south. There, he captured Benevento and blockaded Naples—the only southern city that contained troops worth naming. His bands roamed in all directions; South Italy was reconquered, and once more a Gothic king gathered in the tolls and taxes.

The want of one guiding hand had proved disastrous to the Byzantines. Justinian sought to remedy this by appointing Maximinus commander-in-chief, causing him to embark with an army at Byzantium. Maximinus was incapable and remained in Epirus. Demetrius was then dispatched. He landed in Sicily, but with a force too weak to relieve Naples, and betook himself, therefore, for reinforcements to Rome. There he found nothing but insubordination. The distress in Naples became extreme, and, unless he were to arrive too late, he had to set forth for it immediately. Not far from the city his fleet was attacked by the swift galleys of Totilas and all but annihilated. Shortly thereafter Maximinus, too, appeared at Syracuse, without well knowing what to do. Finally, he dispatched a squadron to the relief of Naples. A storm arose and cast the transport-ships on the shore—a welcome windfall to the Goths. Naples, completely exhausted, surrendered. Totilas demolished its walls, dispatched a host against Otranto, and himself marched against Rome.

Justinian was all but in despair. In addition to the Persian war, which seriously impaired his strength, a pest broke out which carried off innumerable victims. Belisarius had fallen into disfavor with the empress, Theodora, and had been recalled from the eastern frontier to Byzantium. The emperor again fell back on him and sought to attach him to the imperial house by ties of relationship and new dignities, yet hesitated to entrust him with any large force, lest he should become too independent. In 544, Belisarius encamped with 4000 men in Dalmatian Salona, effected the relief of Otranto, and then sailed along the coast to Ravenna. Meanwhile Totilas had seized Tivoli and thus cut off the Romans from supplies from Tuscany. He seems to have left only a reconnoitring troop at Tivoli, and to have pushed westward to Osimo. Notwithstanding his investment of this place, a relieving force of Belisarius succeeded in entering it, but, unable to maintain itself there, it was surprised when on

the retreat during the darkness of night, and scattered with heavy loss. It became more and more evident that Belisarius's force was too weak to cope with the revived strength of the Goths. The troops he had brought with him were raw recruits; those he found in Italy were ill-fed, unpaid, and discontented. The whole Illyrian contingent left for home. He issued strict orders to his garrisons not to show themselves outside



FIG. 145.—Coins of Totilas. (From Friedländer.)

the walls—nor engage with the enemy; and yet success was possible only through attack, for, left to themselves, the Goths had extended their operations to Pesaro, Fermo, and Ascoli. Fermo and Ascoli fell, and, soon afterward, Spoleto and Assisi. Thus covered against Ravenna, Totilas advanced to the second siege of Rome. Even the region of the Po was now so completely in his hands that Piacenza alone offered resistance.

The siege of Rome was opened by a successful rencontre. Although the task promised to be long, it was yet hopeful, for the citizens had become weary of the Byzantines, and the place could be invested by sea as well as by land. The sea swarmed with Gothic cruisers and captured grain-vessels, which last had been sent by Pope Vigilius, who was then in Sicily. With an inferior and untrustworthy force Belisarius did not venture to press to the help of the city through a country in the hands of his foes. He left Ravenna and betook himself to Epidamnus on the east coast of the Adriatic, there to collect a sufficient army. Two of his officers with a garrison he threw into Porto Romano with instructions to annoy the besiegers at the rear. They executed their commission too ardently, fell into ambuscade, and were nearly all cut to pieces. This closed another year of the war.

The next year (546) saw the fall of the obstinately defended Piacenza, and Rome reduced to extreme distress. The inhabitants, in par-

ticular, had to endure the pangs of hunger; the garrison, to whom rations were issued daily, fared somewhat better. Belisarius hurried on the reinforcement and equipment of his army. So soon as this was accomplished, he set sail for Otranto, landed there a detachment under Johannes, who were to march overland to Rome, while he himself made for Porto by sea. Johannes defeated the Goths in two engagements and became master of the extreme south of the peninsula, without, however, venturing to press northward. Belisarius, thus thrown on his own resources, was too weak to risk a fight in the open. The disobedience of a subordinate general set at nought an attempt to convey corn up the Tiber to Rome. The climate and vexation laid Belisarius on a sick-bed in the camp.

Despite all, the capital defended itself resolutely, till it finally succumbed through treachery. Some Isaurians helped the Goths over the

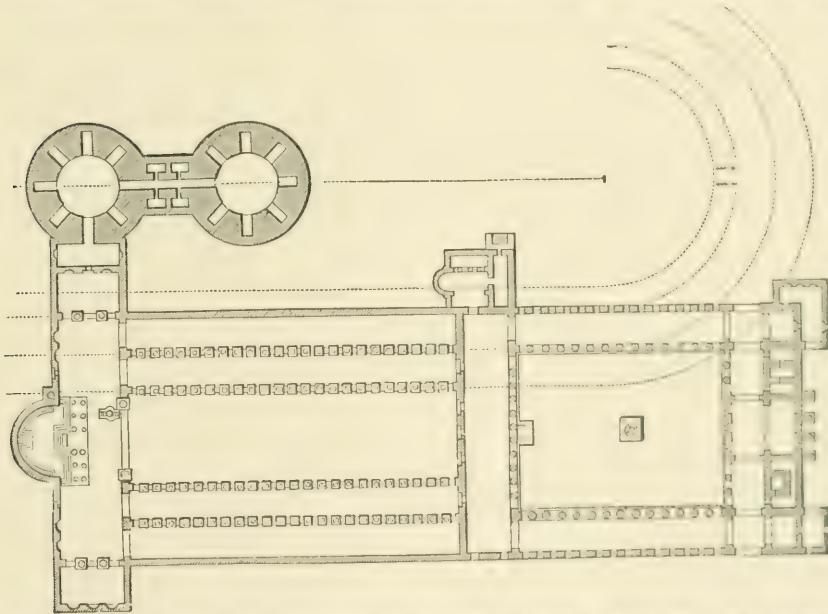


FIG. 146.—Ground-plan of the older Church of St. Peter at Rome. The dotted lines indicate the circus of Nero, near which the church was erected. (From Hübsch and Kugler.)

walls by night, and these drew the bolts of the Asinarian gate and admitted the king. Dreading an ambuscade he held his people together till day-break; then the storm burst forth in the streets, and the soldiers and such as felt conscious of guilt either fled by the other gates or took refuge in the churches. Totilas celebrated his victory by prayer in the Cathedral of St. Peter (Fig. 146), and enforced the strictest discipline.

Few were slaughtered; women were protected; and plundering was but partial. Totilas, in an address, exhorted his people to be just toward each other and to the provincials, "for this is how you can chain fortune to your cause." He improved his success by sending forthwith a message of peace to Justinian which concluded: "If you deal with me as whilom Anastasius with Theodoric, I will willingly call you father, and my people will be in the future your allies." Justinian answered that Belisarius bore unlimited powers, and he alone could negotiate with him.

The war was continued, and again Totilas was the assailant. He caused all the gates of Rome, as well as the walls at various places, to be destroyed; then, dividing his host into two bodies and entrenching the greater between Rome and Porto, he set out with the smaller against Johannes, taking with him Roman senators as hostages. South Italy was quickly recovered and the Byzantine sway restricted to Otranto and Tarentum; then, quartering his army in an old camp of Hannibal's, he set forth to reconnoitre Ravenna. What a change had a few years effected! The kingdom, as good as lost, was reconquered. Totilas stood at the height of his fortune. But now, carried away by his eagerness to recover Ravenna and his predilection for fights in the open, he appears to have forgotten his habits of circumspection, and to have thought it better to leave the captured cities defenceless than to strengthen them by garrisons. He supposed he had done this, especially in the case of Rome, whose inhabitants he had, in great measure, drawn away and settled in Campania. Very different was it with Belisarius. His sure eye recognized the importance of the city and how easily it could be converted into a central place of strength. At first he could effect nothing. An attempt from Porto was foiled by the Gothic reconnoitring troops. These, however, Totilas seems to have recalled to unite them with the main army now before Ravenna. Belisarius he probably regarded as harmless, but at just this time Belisarius bestirred himself. Leaving a small garrison in Porto, he marched up the Tiber and occupied Rome, setting his whole force to work at repairing the walls and strengthening them with palisades. In twenty-five days the work was accomplished, abundant store of provisions laid in, and the houses refilled with their former inhabitants. As soon as Totilas heard of this, he hurried toward Rome with all his power, his aim being to strike the foe before the gates could be securely closed. Arrived, he allowed the Goths but one short night's rest and advanced to the storm. Belisarius had barricaded the gates and occupied them with his best troops, who were covered by the guards on the walls towering high above them. A wild fight raged from early morning until sunset. The Goths accomplished nothing, but had

heavy losses. With the break of the next day the conflict was renewed with a like result. By night they bound up their wounds, sharpened their weapons, and for a third time made a desperate onset. In vain: Rome remained in the hands of the enemy.

Discontent awoke among the Goths. Totilas dared not venture on a blockade, and retired to winter-quarters in Tivoli. Learning from the besiegers of Perugia that that city was weakening in its resistance, he led his army thither, with the double object of hastening the capture of the city and reanimating the spirits of his men. Then a second mischance befell him. Johannes, issuing from Otranto, made a bold raid on Capua and removed the Roman senators who were in custody there. Infuriated, Totilas wheeled about, surprised the enemies' camp, and scattered the Greeks to the four winds. Johannes himself barely managed to reach Otranto through the fleetness of his horse.

Justinian now set himself to strengthen his forces in Italy, especially in South Italy. Belisarius, finding himself unable to effect anything more while in Rome, determined to collect a larger army. With this view, he sailed to the neighborhood of Tarentum, there to draw together all his available strength. His cavalry he sent to an advantageous position some distance inland, where fodder was to be procured. Once there, they became careless, and Totilas, hurrying thither with 3000 Goths, dispersed them in all directions. Thereby, Belisarius lost his foothold, and lifted anchor and set sail for Messina, while the enemy sat down before the strongly-garrisoned Rossano. Fresh reinforcements reached Otranto, and with these Belisarius made an attempt to relieve Rossano. On this failing, it capitulated.

Meanwhile, the soldiers at Rome had become disaffected on account of back-standing pay, and Belisarius deemed it prudent to repair thither in person. The greater part of the troops about Otranto, on the other hand, were directed against Picenum; but with little or no result. Affairs looked gloomy for Byzantium, more especially as the long war had attracted other Germans to Italy. The Franks under Theudebert had again crossed the Alps and made themselves masters of a great part of North Italy. The Gepidae had crossed the Danube, plundering and devastating everywhere, while their neighbors, the Langobardi, scourged Dalmatia and Illyria. A quarrel between these two peoples involved Justinian in their affairs, and ended in an alliance of the Germans, and in leaving the Greek troops, who had been sent to the scene, in a most precarious situation. Those of them designed for Italy were lying, unable to move, in the north of the Balkan Peninsula.

It was under such circumstances that Belisarius (548) received his

ardently-longed-for recall. For five years had he vibrated between one coast-town and another, without the means for decisive action. When he was still on his way toward Byzantium, Perugia submitted to the Goths, while a Gothic force landed on the Dalmatian coast, afflicted it with fire and sword, slew the commander of Salona, and returned with rich booty.

Again a new spring dawned on the land, and for a fourth time the Goths environed Rome, which was now so depopulated that the garrison sowed grain-crops within the walls. Attempts to storm the city were beaten off, but at length Porto was taken, and want began to stare the people in the face. The situation was aggravated by the disaffection of many of the troops, now for several years unpaid. Treason also showed itself. One night a trumpet-peal rang out on the Tiber. All rushed, panic-stricken, thitherward, and in the meantime the Pauline gate was secretly opened. The Goths streamed in, striking down all that came in their way. Those who attempted to flee to *Cività Vecchia* fell into an ambuscade and perished. Scarcely a third of the garrison were left alive. Among the saved were four hundred men who had thrown themselves into Hadrian's mausoleum, and some three hundred who had sought an asylum in the churches. This time the capture was not without bloodshed.

Totilas, mindful of the moral effect of the possession of Rome, determined to elevate it into the capital of his kingdom. Provisions were brought in from all quarters, the walls repaired, senators and citizens recalled, and a spectacle at the circus celebrated the conquest. Goths and provincials lived together in harmony, and, once more, a message of peace and friendship went to Byzantium.

In vain: the sword remained unsheathed. With the restoration of Rome was associated, according to old tradition, the possession of Sicily, the granary of the city. The king cast his eyes on the fertile isle, and shortly directed his course toward it. Reggio di Calabria was blockaded and Taranto seized, while far to the north on the other coast, Rimini fell into the hands of the Goths, and a battle near Ravenna was decided in their favor. More and more menacingly the clouds gathered over this, the last important stronghold of the Byzantines.

The emperor saw that if he was not prepared to give up Italy it was the highest time to act with energy. He appointed his nephew, Germanus, commander with unlimited powers, but soon replaced him by the Roman Liberius, who also, as he was on the eve of embarking, received a countermand. Obviously Justinian wavered as to entering on a new great war. Wild hordes of Slavs stormed over the Danube and moved close up to Constantinople. The Goths pursued their career of conquest.

Leaving a corps before Reggio, Totilas passed over to Sicily, invested Messina, and ravaged the island. Reggio surrendered. On these tidings, the emperor ordered Liberius to set sail. Afterward it was discovered that he was too old and unwarlike, and recourse was again had to Germanus. This commander took up the matter in an earnest spirit, and married Matasuntha, thus combining in his person the characters of a Byzantine potentate and a claimant of the Gothic crown. Hopes were aroused that when he appeared in Italy, along with the granddaughter of Theodoric, a great proportion of the Goths would refuse to fight against him, while the Greek garrisons would be inspired by fresh courage. He assembled and ordered his host in Illyria, repelled a horde of Slavs that streamed thitherward but, when on the point of setting out for Italy, succumbed to sudden sickness, and died. After his death Matasuntha gave birth to a son. In the meantime, Liberius, unconscious of the altered disposition of the emperor, had crossed the sea, forced his way through the blockading Goths into the harbor of Syracuse, and thereafter sailed into Palermo. Although he was in no condition to effect anything of note in Sicily, yet the Goths left the island, carrying with them a rich booty of horses, grain, and treasure. Only in four places did they leave garrisons. The real cause for this step was the arrival at Salona of the army collected by Germanus, whence a landing could quickly be effected on the Italian coast. But it was winter, and the army lay inert in Salona, till Narses appeared as its commander.

The Gothic king met the threatened attack by knitting the Romans faster to himself, dispatching a strong squadron to the Greek coast, and perhaps by instigating the northern folks to new inroads into the Balkan peninsula. Slavs and Huns rioted at will through this region. At the same time, Ancona was beset by land and water, as well as Ravenna, the last city in that district in the hands of the Byzantines. To prevent these from falling into the enemy's hands, a detachment of the troops at Salona sailed, before Narses's arrival, and landed in the neighborhood of Ancona. No sooner did the Goths learn this than they equipped their war-ships and attacked the Greeks—a daring enterprise, for before this the Goths had been little more than corsairs. The fight was wild and irregular, but gradually their superiority in tactics told in favor of the Greeks, and the Goths were all but annihilated. Ancona was relieved. Sicily, also, was lost to the Goths, the four garrisons being starved into surrender. On the other hand, negotiations between the Byzantines and Franks came to nothing, and the latter people came to terms with the Goths on condition of their being allowed to retain their conquests in North Italy. Totilas, on his side, was indefatigable. He

sent a fleet to Corsica and Sardinia, which, repulsing a Byzantine army, reduced these islands to tributaries. In South Italy Croton was beset.

The year 552 saw Narses break up from Salona. He led a strangely mixed host—provincials, Thracians, Illyrians, Langobardi, Heruli, Gepidae, Huns, and Persians—held together by the bands of Byzantine discipline, lust of booty and fame, and the personality of their commander. Narses was a man of meagre, insignificant figure, but of a resolute, ferocious nature, equally skilled in war, finance, and civil administration, imposing by reason of his courage, vigor, and riches. He brought with him an enormous sum wherewith he paid the soldiers their arrears, thus recalling those who had gone over to the Goths. This loss was momentous to Totilas, as it weakened him just when his star began to wane before the enemy's great superiority.

Arrived at the confines of Italy, two ways lay open to the Byzantines—one directly along the coast, which was still subject to the emperor, the other through Venetia. The former was through morasses and across river-mouths difficult of passage; the second route was now in the hands of the Franks, behind whom, in Verona, stood the Goths under Tejas, who had strengthened by entrenchments and ditches the strong line of the Adige. On the whole, the route along the coast, despite its difficulties, seemed the more advisable, and Ravenna was reached without accident.

A long rest here invigorated his army; then Narses advanced toward Rome, without weakening himself by leaving garrisons in the fortresses. Totilas had summoned Tejas with his force, and he lay awaiting the enemy in a camp near Taginae, in the Apennines. Here Narses arrived and formed a camp in a plain encompassed by hills. Totilas set the fight for the ninth day, but only for the purpose of deception, for by the next day he was on the ground. He found the Greeks ready. During the night they occupied a hill, against which the Gothic cavalry charged in vain. The important point remained to them. Meanwhile, the main armies were being ordered for battle. Narses drew up his left wing, consisting of the flower of his troops, so as to lean on the hill; the right wing also was constituted by soldiers of the line, while the Germans and other barbarians were in the centre. To take from these all hope of retreat, they were made to dismount. The whole host numbered probably 30,000. The commander rode down the front with words of encouragement, causing bracelets and chains to be carried along with him to rouse the men's avidity. Opposite them stood the Goths in two lines, the horsemen in front, the footmen behind. Totilas had received information that a reinforcement of 2000 men was approaching. In order to gain time he

pranced about between the two armies on a superb steed with gold trappings. First, he let his horse execute the most elegant caprioles and wheels ; then, at full speed, he cast his spear on high and caught it as it sunk twirling to the ground ; finally, he sprang from the saddle, first behind, then before, thereafter on the right side, then on the left, each time recovering his seat. After spending the morning in such pleasing diversions, he sent a herald to Narses. Meanwhile, the expected help arrived. Obviously the Byzantines did not move because they did not wish to give up their well-chosen position. At midday the Goths ate their cooked dinner in the camp, whereas Narses's men ate their dry meal in the ranks, while he placed, almost unobserved, 400 archers in a crescent on either flank. It was a movement which, in true appreciation of the enemy's plan of attack, decided the day. Soon the Gothic cavalry-masses stormed forward against the weakest point of the Byzantine position, namely, the centre. To give full effect to the weight of the onset, Totilas had ordered that no delay be made for the employment of archery, but that they should dash right forward, their lances in rest. Scarcely, however, had the storming masses come within reach of the enemy's crescent-shaped wings, when a storm of arrows rained upon them. The strength of the attack was broken. Instead of bursting through the enemy's line, it resolved itself into a wild hand-to-hand fight. Despite all disadvantages, the hard-pressed Goths held their ground till evening ; then their strength gave way. All order was lost, the cavalry rushed in unbridled flight back on the infantry, breaking and carrying these along with them. The enemy followed in hot pursuit ; the crush and butchery were horrible, until night shrouded the conquered.

The superiority of the Greek tactics was clearly evidenced, and, as clearly, the miserable leadership on the part of the Goths. Totilas should not have set all on one cast, but have wearied out the enemy by a guerilla war. The defeat cost the Goths the future ; the king, his throne and life. Totilas fled with five companions, the foe behind him. One of his pursuers, a Gepidan, overtook him and pierced him with a lance in the back. Mortally wounded as he was, he clung to his seat in the saddle. When a halt was made he died. His faithful companions buried him and rode on. Eleven years had Totilas reigned. A Greek—Procopius—was able to say of him : "The fate that overtook him was unworthy of his career."

The dispersed Goths collected themselves in the city of Pavia, and chose Tejas king (Fig. 147). Narses left a reconnoitring corps to watch him, while he himself set out for Rome. Scarcely had he arrived

when he opened the attack in three places. The Gothic garrison was much too weak to cover the whole city, and the citizens remained neutral. The foe had to be met wherever he made his assault, and thus the other parts of the wall were left naked. This was what the wily Greek had designed. A detachment of chosen troops, provided with ladders, threw themselves on an undefended portion of the wall, applied their ladders, scaled it without difficulty, and opened the gate. Rome was lost, only a part of the defenders escaping to Porto. For the fifth time the capital changed its master, this time to the severe loss of those

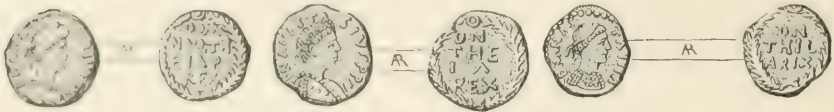


FIG. 147.—Coins of Tejas. (From Friedländer.)

who, once masters of the world, now let themselves be tossed about as fate willed it. The fleeing Goths cut down all the Romans who came in their way, nor were the Germans among the conquerors more merciful. Numerous senators who were hurrying toward Rome from Campania fell by the way under the Gothic swords; Tejas also caused three hundred hostages to be executed. It was no longer a war for possession of the land, but a life-and-death struggle.

Even before the conquest of Rome, Narni, Spoleto, and Perugia had fallen into the hands of the Greeks. They now took Tarentum, Porto, and other places, and sat down before Cumae, where lay the largest portion of the crown-treasures. Tejas had remained in Pavia in hope of aid from the Franks. When this proved vain, he broke up almost in despair, to go to the relief of Cumae. To the south of Vesuvius, not far from Nocera, he took up a strong position covered by the river Sarno, with its steep banks, and fortified it by wooden towers and catapults. Narses concentrated all his troops against him—a disproportionately superior force—without at first being able to get at him. The access to the sea supplied the Goths with provisions; the river marshes, fodder for their horses. Where weapons availed nothing, gold and hunger became efficient agents. Through the treachery of the Gothic admiral the Greeks became masters of their enemy's ships. Tejas now retreated to a neighboring hill, where, secure from surprise, his people were given up to the gnawings of hunger. "Therefore it seemed better to the Goths to seek death in open fight, than to die of starvation." Unexpectedly they rushed forward in the early dawn of morning. At first the Greeks were confounded and in disorder, but soon their numerical superiority made

itself felt so that they could fight in order. Both armies fought on foot, in deep phalanx. Tejas stood prominently in front of his men, with few attendants, covered by his shield and brandishing a lance. The bravest made for him, to decide the battle by his fall. He caught all the spears on his shield, and, with lightning-like bounds, slew many foes. When his shield was full, he reached it to his armor-bearer and took a new one. Thus had he fought for the third part of the day, when, again changing his shield, he bared his breast for a moment, and a spear struck him dead. The Greeks sprang on him, hewed off his head, raised it on a pole and carried it in triumph around. Notwithstanding their heavy loss, the Goths stood their ground till night put an end to the combat. In the gray light of the morning the bloody work again went on. The Goths knew they were fighting their last battle and did not give an inch. But when it again became dark, they sent to Narses and begged for an armistice, with leave to retire unmolested, for the purpose of leaving the land. This was granted, and sworn to by the Goths. Only some thousand were recalcitrant, and under the leading of Indulf broke through to Pavia.

With this battle Procopius closes his narrative of the eighteen years' war. Agathias, who continues his history, says that the Goths, after Tejas's death, were surrounded by a superior force in a place destitute of water, and entered into an agreement to return home to their possessions as subjects of the emperor.

Every one thought the long war was at an end, and yet once more all was brought into question. Narses appeared first before Cumae, which was defended by Aligern, the younger brother of Tejas, a man of resolute spirit. The Greeks, trusting to the impression of the recent victory, at once opened the storm. Repulsed, they had, well or ill, to begin a siege. On the east side of the rock on which Cumae arose was a cavern in which the Sibyl was reported to have dwelt. This Narses caused to be enlarged till its roof collapsed under the weight of the wall built over it, and the whole fell into the chasm. Courageously the Greeks pressed into the breach. The Goths threw themselves against them, and, still favored by the steep precipice, drove them back. Narses had to waste time and strength before this rocky eyry. Nearly a year it withstood him, and in the meantime an important change had taken place in the north.

The Goths that dwelt on the right bank of the Po had returned home with peaceable intentions. Those beyond the river thought differently. They were in no mood to submit to the Greeks. Alone too weak, they once more turned to the oft-courted Franks, and this time with success.

True, King, Theudobald himself would not break with the potentate of Byzantium, but the two mighty Alamannian dukes, Leutharis and Butilin, full of the hope of winning Italy, were ready to assume the leadership. Seventy-five thousand warriors—Alamanni, Franks, and Langobardi—are said to have followed them; they poured into Lombardy, and pressed forward to Parma. Narses, leaving a corps before Cumae, and dispatching another to the Po, himself with the main force entered Tuscany. Nearly all the cities surrendered without a struggle, the citizens of Lucca alone, under the leadership of a Frank, offering a determined resistance. Force, wile, and clemency were tried in vain by the crafty Greek; three months had to elapse ere his hands were free. His second corps, consisting mainly of Heruli, had meanwhile made an attempt on Parma, and been completely defeated by Butilin—a fact sure to have an adverse effect, since even the Southern Goths were inclined toward the Franks, and waited only the development of events. Now a number of Gothic cities, one after another, opened their gates, and the Franks were able to press forward, while the Greeks withdrew before them to Faenza—that is, as near as possible to Ravenna. Autumn came to an end, and Narses undertook nothing more, but distributed his force in winter-quarters among the cities, mainly those of Emilia, with orders to assemble next spring in Rome. He himself proceeded to Ravenna. Obviously he did not feel strong enough to cope with the Franks, but waited for some favorable turn, and that such was probable was evidenced by the conduct of Aligern, the defender of Cumae.

This man appeared before Narses and delivered him the key of this important stronghold, impelled not by fear of the Greek army, but by his aversion to the Franks. In possession of the national jewels, he had, indeed, hoped for the crown—a hope shattered by the new turn in affairs. Rather than submit to a German brother he surrendered to the ancient possessors of the land, and adopted Roman manners and customs. Ere long we find him fighting on the imperial side.

Wasting with fire and sword, the Franks moved slowly southward. In Samnium they separated. Butilin, with the greater force, ravaged Campania and Lucania to the Straits of Messina. The lesser, under Leutharis, pillaged Calabria up to Otranto. With the approach of summer, sickness appeared, and Leutharis took the route homeward to Venetia, where, however, the epidemic became more virulent and claimed many victims. Butilin, in the hope of becoming king, remained true to his promise given to the Goths, of finishing the war in common with them. As the mortality waxed great among his troops also, he resolved to march on Rome, where Narses had concentrated his forces, in order to engage

in a decisive battle. On the Volturno, not far from Capua, the Germans erected a "wagon-fort," the weapons were put in order, and all was in readiness for the conflict. When Narses heard this, he broke up from Rome and encamped close to the foe on the opposite side of the river, only a bridge joining his bank with theirs. Wild with war-fever, and instigated by false reports, the Franks pressed over, although the Alamannian soothsayers had prophesied woe. They fought with the river at the back. Narses arranged his men into a phalanx, the horsemen on the wings. In their old German wedge-array, the Franks rushed upon the centre with their frightful battle-cry. The line was broken in an instant, but the wings wheeling inward environed the wedge. From all sides arrows and javelins hailed on the crowded Germans; a Herulian band drove their van back, so that their troops were massed into a coil. Flight began, and the Greeks charged forward and forced the whole host into the waters of the Volturno. "The field of Capua was saturated with blood, and the river so choked with carcasses that it overflowed its banks." The Frankish host was utterly annihilated, and Butilin himself slain. "Laden with booty, garlanded, and singing songs of victory, the Greeks marched back to Rome."

After the bloody field of Capua all danger was at an end; it remained only to exterminate the last relics of the Franks and Goths. The majority of the latter had thrown themselves into the strong Campsae. Without prospect of relief, they ultimately surrendered to Narses, who sent them to Byzantium.

Italy, after a twenty years' war, was reconquered for the emperor—but how? The ancient glory of the land, which had still maintained itself under Theodoric, lay in the dust. National weal and security, husbandry and commerce, art and culture, were annihilated. The population was again sparse and poor; the imperial rule pressed on them heavy as lead. Yet already destruction lowered on the frontiers. Langobardi had served under Narses, but had so wasted the country in their impulse for devastation, that he dismissed them, laden with rich gifts, to their homes. The army of Butilin, too, had contained Langobardi, but this time as foes of the Byzantines. But scarcely a dozen years had elapsed when these people again poured into Italy, unconscious avengers of the Goths.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE KINGDOM OF THE BURGUNDIANS.

HISTORICAL SOURCES.

THE narrow bounds of the Burgundian kingdom, its brief duration, and the meagre inner life of its people are to be assigned as the main reasons for its producing no historian. The only author who claims our notice, Marius, Bishop of Avenches (Lausanne), wrote nothing till after the Frankish conquest. Our sources are, therefore, extremely defective, particularly for the early times and for the closing years of this kingdom.

Our best information is gleaned, not from historical works but from the letters of Avitus, Archbishop of Vienne, the champion of Catholicity (*circa* 494 till *circa* 526). He was a relative of Sidonius Apollinaris, but of an altogether different character—no indiscriminate flatterer, but a man of convictions and deeds, of clear head and passionate heart. His main defect, in addition to the usual faults of the times, is that he writes as a Roman courtier contemptuous of German barbarism, that is, of the people who made his work possible. Fortunately he begins where Sidonius ends. Besides, we have some Lives of saints: The *Vita Eptadii*, the *Vita Caesarii*, and the biographies of the Abbots of St. Maurice-en-Valais, which latter date from about the time that the state lost its independence. Recently, short Burgundian annals have been traced, which Marius of Avenches and Gregory of Tours made use of, but which were afterward lost.

Generally speaking, we are dependent on writers belonging to the neighboring countries, especially on the inexhaustible Gregory of Tours, and after him on Procopius, Prosper, Isidore, Jordanes, Cassiodorus, Ennodius, and others.

In such dearth, the collection of Burgundian laws acquires special importance, to which we may add the acts of certain councils, inscriptions, coins, and the like.

THE BURGUNDIANS IN GAUL (A. D. 443–532).

Sabaudia was, in 443, left free by Rome to the Burgundians, who, after being seriously menaced on the Rhine, had settled in that region

beside its earlier inhabitants (see p. 210). Sabaudia comprised modern Savoy, enlarged on the north and west, and constituted a comparatively small kingdom under the joint sway of two brothers—King Gundioc (*circa* 437 to *circa* 474) and Hilperic (*circa* 437 to *circa* 470). The latter resided in Geneva, while the former's capital was nearer the frontier.

Scarcely had the brothers ordered their state provisionally when Attila made his inroad, and in his repulse the Burgundians did their part. Times of wild disorder followed the death-agony of the expiring Empire, to which the Burgundians were at one time friendly, at another, hostile. At first their relations were essentially influenced by their king, Gundioc, who had led home in marriage the sister of Ricimer and granddaughter of Wallia, king of the Visigoths. In company with the Visigoths they undertook, in 456, a campaign against the Suevi, who were then pressing forward into Spain. Returned home, they extended their domains by occasional further acquisitions. The kings died decorated with Roman titles: Hilperic was a patrician; Gundioc, master of the forces.

Hilperic must have died childless, for the kingdom was now divided among the sons of Gundioc—Gundobad, Godegisel, and Hilperic, their respective residences being Vienne, Geneva, and Lyons. Gundobad, a companion and successor of Ricimer, had become involved in the Italian complications, till the death of his father called him home. This three-fold division weakened the strength of the state, and that at the time when Euric by his policy of unification raised the Visigoths to be a leading power.

Though in close relation with Rome, these kings let the Visigoths at first make their Gallic conquests unopposed, even those of Arles and Marseilles, so eventful for their own future. But when Euric made his attempt on Auvergne, Hilperic, who had succeeded his father as master of the forces, led his Burgundians against him, as imperial allies and militia. Euric's advances on the Lower Rhone must also have aroused the hostility of the Burgundians, till the Emperor Nepos, in pure helplessness, made peace with the too-powerful enemy, in which peace Hilperic joined. In 476, the effete Empire fell to pieces, and all Provence, down to the Maritime Alps, fell to the possession of the Visigoths. Access to the sea was closed against the Burgundians. They had lost time and opportunity, while their neighbors in the West were growing into a great Gallic power. We can hardly be wrong in ascribing this lethargy to the dismembered condition of this by no means populous state. A good understanding could hardly have been maintained among the three courts. The story of the murder of Hilperic and his family by Gundobad, which the legends relate, points in this direction. Conquests in the

direction of Langres and Besançon, whither the Alamanni had removed, and in Northwestern Italy, could not counterbalance the effect of former criminal negligence. The territory seized by King Gundobad in Italy was furthermore unfortunately situated, and was lost again as soon as Odoacer exerted his power.

To open warfare the Burgundians were ever disinclined. They purchased the friendship of the Ostrogoth Theodoric by the free surrender of many Italian prisoners. They preferred to gain their end rather through kinship than arms. Gundobad's oldest son, Sigismund, married a daughter of Theodoric, who was also sister-in-law of the Visigothic king, Alaric II.

At this era a power was developing, which was destined profoundly to affect the future of Burgundy. This was the kingdom of the Franks under Clovis, who married Gundobad's niece Clotilda—a union of highest promise; and yet the maiden of Burgundy was to turn out the malicious fairy for her fatherland. First, as a Catholic she effected the conversion of her spouse, and later, in her sons, she appears as the avenger of the murder of her relatives. Clovis's creed was that of the provincials, in opposition to that of the Burgundians and Visigoths, who were Arian, so that the orthodox among the former people now found encouragement for their disaffection under the yoke of Arianism (cf. p. 296).

Hilperic died, and his brothers, Gundobad and Godegisel, strove so bitterly over the inheritance, that the latter gave ear to Clovis and allied himself with him against his brother. As if to aggravate the peril, Sigismund, Gundobad's son, inclined toward the Catholics, who at this time were concentrating and striving to increase their strength at a council at Lyons. When the king said to them: "If your faith is the true one, why do not your bishops hinder the king of the Franks from making war on me?" he received the answer: "Return with your people to the divine laws and you will have peace." Dissension at home, a too powerful foe without—Gundobad's cause seemed lost.

According to Gregory of Tours, Godegisel deceived his brother concerning his relations with Clovis. At Dijon, in 500, he appeared suddenly on the side of the Franks. Gundobad's followers were scattered, and he himself was forced to flee to Avignon, in the most southerly nook of his dominions. In the moment of triumph, however, the victors fell out. Godegisel, with the view of securing the whole kingdom to himself, had promised Clovis a parcel of land as a partial payment. The latter did not think it to his advantage that Burgundy should be united. He, therefore, concluded a peace with Gundobad, leaving him the crown in consideration of a yearly tribute. A Frankish garrison occupied Godegisel's capital, Vienne.

On Clovis's withdrawal, a popular reaction seems to have set in in favor of Gundobad, the defender of the Burgundian national honor, who was now able to appear before Vienne with a superior force. By treachery and force he became master of the city, while Godegisel, who fled to a church, was slain. Gundobad dismissed the Frankish garrison to the Visigothic king at Toulouse, as a proof of his victory and a token of amity of interests. The danger of a double war against the unexpectedly allied Burgundians and Visigoths induced Clovis to delay reckoning with them for the moment.

Gundobad was now free to take steps toward establishing a stable government at home. This he did by legislation and an attempt at unity in religion. The code (still extant and named after him) embodying the laws of the Burgundians had as its main object the formulating of these in conformity with existing conditions, and the ordering of the relations between the Burgundians and Roman provincials. The king, says Gregory of Tours, enacted milder laws, that the provincials should not be entirely trodden down. The constitution was monarchical-aristocratic, and offered no occasion for internal dissension. For civil and military purposes the land was well organized by distribution into city-districts or counties, each presided over by a count named by the king. The law of the state Gundobad altered in its weightiest point. In place of joint succession to the crown he substituted individual succession, probably according to primogeniture. His good disposition toward Orthodoxy is an additional evidence of his desire for unity and a well-established order of things. Though himself an Arian, he took much interest in the study of the rival doctrine, attracted its representatives to his person, and let his sons become Catholics. The able Bishop Avitus of Vienne enjoyed a prominent position under him.

The relation of Burgundy to its neighbors, the Franks and the Visigoths, became gradually changed, and an alliance was entered into with the former against the latter. It appears that border-strifes had broken out between Gundobad and Alaric II. Burgundy, conscious of its strength, desired to win the important district of Provence. A war raged for several years, to which, as well by the Franks as by the Catholics, a religious background was given, for which reason perhaps the Catholic crown-prince, Sigismund, commanded the Burgundian army till the king himself assumed the leadership. In the spring of 507, Clovis with all his power advanced over the Visigothic frontier, while his ally struck the enemy on the flank. As our main source of information speaks only of the Franks, we are told so little of the Burgundians as not even to know what part they played in the decisive fight near

Vouglé. We learn from Isidore of Seville that Gundobad took Narbonne and drove the pretender Gesalic into Spain. The allies then set about investing Arles. The Ostrogoths entered on the scene to assist their western brethren, but these were strong enough to decline help. In the next year (509) a second Gothic host appeared in the rear of the besiegers, pillaged Burgundy and Provence, and gained a victory near Arles. At length the two great powers, wearied of the long contest, came to an understanding at the cost of the Visigoths; and the weaker ally, Burgundy, had to content itself with escaping the penalty of its forwardness. Gundobad's plan of conquest was frustrated, and he spent the rest of his life in ruling his people in peace. He died in 516, after a reign of forty years.

Gundobad, however far he may stand behind others of his contemporaries, was the man of greatest mark who ever sat on the Burgundian throne. He was rather a legislator and administrator than a politician and warrior. As such, his good traits manifested themselves—wise moderation, sincere benevolence, humanity, and an earnest love of justice. Besides, he was acquainted with Latin and Greek, and was something of a philosopher and theologian. His failures were want of promptitude and decision. In politics as well as in war his irresolution manifested itself, and sometimes brought him into peril. For his kingdom, the sixteen years of his sole reign was its acme of well-being; from that time it gradually declined to its fall.

Near Geneva, the Catholic Sigismund (516–523)—already well advanced in years, but without insight or energy—was called to fill his father's place. Arianism now lost its last support, and soon the Catholic Church, under the guidance of Avitus, the king's teacher, acquired the ascendancy. Only too often this Church seems to have been over-arrogant, for Avitus was what we, in our day, should call an ultramontane. No Gallic priest had ever before so unconditionally acknowledged the supremacy of the pope. In a letter he adjures the senators to care for the Church as for the kingdom, telling them that the whole episcopate rested on the pope. Even before Sigismund's accession he had exhorted him to attempt the suppression of heresy. Under his presidency all the Catholic bishops met in council, in 517, at Epao (Albon), to consult concerning the applicability to Burgundy of the edicts of earlier councils. Carefully they strove to strengthen and confirm the organization of the Church, to make her as rich as possible, and so to elevate her tone that she should be not only moral herself, but a great moral power. In some cases their efforts in this direction went too far, so as to forbid marriage on account of kinship, even to brothers' and sisters' grandchildren.

All the more indulgent did they show themselves where it concerned the increase of the faithful, especially in relation to the Arians. A Catholic who had relapsed into Arianism could be reconciled to the Church after two years' penance. The Council of Nice had fixed twelve years. On the other hand, a Catholic priest could hold no intercourse with heretics, and only retake possession of churches that had formerly been Catholic. No Arian church could, through simple consecration, be appropriated to the Catholic worship of God. The king's influence over the clergy seems to have been slight in Burgundy, and the assembling of the council not to have been dependent on his sanction. It is not even certain how far his authority extended in the nomination of bishops. At all events the royal assent was required when a civil official assumed the ecclesiastical calling—a step of no little consequence, for high officials gladly occupied important sees.

The decrees of the Epaonic council involved wide-reaching consequences. Their restrictions on marriage brought it even in conflict with the crown. Stephen, a high official, steward of the royal treasury, had married the sister of his deceased wife. The Church interposed, and in a national council put the ban on the spouses. The king was incensed, and withdrew from church-communion. The bishops then held a second assembly, in Lyons, where they decided to maintain the ban, though in a milder form, and further determined that if the king's wrath continued, they would withdraw in a body into a retreat. They did so; at first to a convenient place near Lyons. This still more irritated the king. He ordered the spiritual princes to return to their homes, each of them, however, being bound to remain a month near his person, beginning with Bishop Apollinaris of Valence. The bishops complied. Sigismund was suddenly taken ill; his wife sent to Apollinaris imploring help. He declined to come, but sent his mantle, with instructions to spread it over the king. When this was done the king recovered, and he begged with tears for forgiveness, and sanctioned the proceedings against Stephen. The crown was defeated. The Church had conquered in virtue of its strength and moderation. If previously there had been fear of a relapse to Arianism, this was now removed, and a prosperous future opened. Notwithstanding all this, no tie of attachment bound the bishops to the Burgundian state. The mighty kingdom of the Franks appeared to them the bulwark of the faith. Three Burgundian bishops fled to the Franks on account of treason. The relations between the Roman and the German lay population, too, rested on no sure ground, although the Burgundians showed themselves complaisant, permitted intermarriage with provincials, admitted them to their mili-

tary service, and united them with themselves in the constitution of the state.

The position of Sigismund was eminently perplexing. At home he had alienated his Arian Burgundians without conciliating the Catholic provincials; abroad he had lost the Arian support of Theodoric, while the Catholic Franks were straining after the subjugation of his kingdom. In his difficulties, he seems to have approached the Byzantine emperors, who already had honored him, as crown prince, with the patriariate. He did this in his own wavering, half-servile manner (p. 274). Theodoric waylaid the messenger and robbed him of the letter, and the complaints that followed thereon evidenced the estrangement between the two German sovereigns.

Unfortunately, Sigismund drew misfortunes on his own head. By his first wife, Theodoric's daughter, he had a son, Sigeric, who was now the pride of the Amals, and who cherished the hope of becoming the heir of his grandfather. The relations between him and his stepmother were worse than indifferent on both sides. At length, an open breach occurred. On a festival day, indignation got the mastery of Sigeric, and he exclaimed: "Thou art unworthy of the garments which once belonged to thy mistress, my mother." Deeply offended, she succeeded in making the weak Sigismund the murderer of his own son. Sigeric was strangled in his sleep. Scarcely was the dark deed done, when remorse seized the king. He attempted to expiate his crime by retiring to the newly built monastery of Agaunum (St. Maurice-en-Valais), and decreeing that the monks thereof "should by day and night chant sacred songs, in imitation of the choir in heaven." Sigismund thus became the founder of church choral song, which spread in all directions from this centre. Bishop Avitus delivered two most fulsomely bombastic orations, in which he assured the king and murderer of his son, that "never have we been able to find words sufficient to express thy virtues, but now, in view of the introduction of this psalm-singing, I hold it all inadequate to say that thou hast excelled thy own works." We see that the bishop cherished a tolerant spirit in regard to the Catholic king. The faith alone concerned him; if this were safe, the kingdom might go to pieces. Conformable to this is his declaration that "a city is better defended by churches than by walls."

This crime formed the turning-point in the life of Sigismund. The death of his only son and heir had made a deep impression on the land far and wide. Even in the bosom of his own subjects he feared for his power, and this at a time when the Franks were arming themselves to wrest it from him.

A year had not passed when, in 523, the sons of the Burgundian Clotilda appeared in the field as avengers; and, after a desperate resistance, they defeated Sigismund and his brother, Godomar. The former wandered around homeless for a time. Instead of finding an asylum in St. Maurice, he was seized and delivered to King Clodimir, who caused him to be imprisoned in Orleans. The dispersed Burgundians shut themselves up in fortified places, where they appeared so little dangerous to the Franks, that, leaving garrisons in only a few towns, their main army went homeward. Meanwhile, the Ostrogoths from Provence had come on the scene, and made themselves master of the southern part of the land. The king of these Goths was, as Sigier's grandfather, Sigismund's foe. It is, therefore, possible that the return of the Franks was connected with the entry of the Ostrogoths. As soon as the Franks had gone, Godomar rallied the strength of the kingdom and, in an adventurous onslaught, won back most of the land. Clodimir was infuriated; he caused Sigismund, with his followers, to be put to death, turned on Burgundy again, and called on his brother, Theuderic, for help. Both armies united, and at Véséronee (524) encountered Godomar, who had been enthroned (reigning from 524 to 532). A bloody fight ensued. In the midst of the mêlée, Clodimir became entangled among his foes, who cut him down, struck off his head, and carried it, in triumph, aloft on a lance. The battle must have been undecided, or it must have ended unfavorably for the Franks, for they consented to a peace that recognized Godomar as in possession of his kingdom.

He was to enjoy it for only eight years. Then Avitus died; exactly when, no one knows. He had persistently pursued the one object of his life—the triumph of Catholicism. His death may well have been agreeable to the new king, who, at a diet at Ambérieux, took measures for strengthening his sorely wounded state. All foreign freemen settling in Burgundy were to remain free and unmolested; Burgundian slaves, returning from foreign bondage out of love for the fatherland, were promised freedom; Burgundian immigrants were promised half of the Roman arable land; Catholics were required to show respect for Arian churches and priests. These provisions clearly indicate regard for the Arian Germans who had rescued the kingdom. The same disposition was shown in Godomar's dealings with the Ostrogoths. He recognized them as his over-lords, and, in return, received back the district hitherto held by them. Both had a common enemy in the Franks. But all this was too late.

In 532, the brothers Clotaire and Childebert invaded Burgundy and

besieged Autun. Godomar—although advancing to its relief—was defeated, his land taken possession of and, in 534, partitioned among the victors. The Ostrogoths, distracted by internal feuds, could offer no help. What became of the last Burgundian king is not certainly known. The best authorities know only of his flight. He probably vanished from sight in some foreign land.

For ninety years had the Burgundian kingdom lasted—a duration nearly equal to that of the kingdom of the Vandals. The causes of its fall were the same as in the other kingdoms, viz., the antagonism between the Romans and Germans, between Catholics and Arians, coupled with



FIG. 148.—Burgundian coins. Original size. 1. Imitation of a gold solidus of Leo I. (457-474 A. D.), minted at Ravenna. 2. Imitation of a silver coin of Theodosius I. (379-395 A. D.), minted at Treves. 3. Imitation of a silver coin of Valentinian II. (375-392 A. D.), minted at Treves. 4. Imitation of a gold solidus of Anastasius I. (491-518 A. D.), with the monogram of Sigismund (516-523 A. D.). 5. Small silver coin of Gundobad. 6. Imitation of a gold solidus of Anastasius I. (491-518 A. D.), with the monogram of Gundobad (500-516 A. D.). 7. Imitation of a gold triens of Justin I. (518-527 A. D.), with the monogram of Sigismund (516-523 A. D.). (Nos. 1-5, and 7 from Numism. chron. XVIII. Nos. 6 and 8 in the Berlin Cabinet of Coins.)

lessened power of resistance, decaying war-spirit among the ruling classes, and the meagre abilities of its kings. A further disadvantage was the unfavorable geographical situation and conformation of the coun-

try, its exposed frontiers, and the narrowness of its bounds as compared with its too powerful neighbors.

Although subject to the Franks and tributary to them in men and money, Burgundy continued as a separate part of the Frankish kingdom at the side of Neustria and Austrasia. At first partitioned, it was, on the death of Clotaire I. (561), reunited, with a constitution of its own, its own government, and with boundaries modified in several respects. The Burgundians lived in the full enjoyment of their possessions and of their own laws, participated in the administration, and constituted a special force in war. In respect of the *weregild*, they stood on an equality with the other subject peoples—the Alamanni, Friesians, Bavarians, and Saxons. Repeatedly the old national pride flamed forth, even to open revolt, but never succeeded against Frankish predominance.

The old Burgundians maintained themselves longest in the mountain-lands, whither many of their nobles had betaken themselves, trusting to their strong rock-fastnesses, or, sick of the world, hiding themselves in solitary seclusion. On the other hand, the comparatively highly-developed nation exercised a salutary influence on the half-savage Franks, by indoctrinating them with Roman ideas of municipal order and the moral principles of Christianity. The abbey of Luxeuil was a bulwark against Austrasian barbarism, and ere long the abbey of Cluny arose on Burgundian soil, to give a new and spiritual direction to Catholicism.

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